DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 236 279 UD 023 160

TITLE	Advancing the Art of Inquiry in School Desegregation Research.
INSTITUTION	System Development Corp., Santa Monica, Calif.
SPONS AGENCY	National Inst. of Education (ED), Washington, DC.
REPORT NO	TM-7081/001/01
PUB DATE	Apr 83
CONTRACT	400-80-0039
NOTE	422p.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - General (020) -- Information Analyses (070)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC17 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Educational Research; Elementary Secondary Education; *Research Methodology; *School Desegregation; *Social Influences; *Social Science Research; *Social Theories; State of the Art Reviews
IDENTIFIERS	*Situational Analysis

ABSTRACT

This volume represents the results of an effort to reconsider school desegregation research from a "situational" perspective--one that recognizes macro and micro processes, objective and subjective forces, and proximal and distal influences. Part I is an introduction, "The Desegregation Situation," written by Jeffrey Prager, Douglas Longshore, and Melvin Seeman. Part II, "School Desegregation in Context," contains articles written by Gerald Suttles and John Ogbu. These place the study of school desegregation in the larger context of American racial and ethnic stratification, and criticize "micro" studies which fail to appreciate how "macro forces" become operationalized in the school setting. The articles in Part III, "New Theoretical Directions," represent the search for new theory in desegregation research and, in contrast to Part II, point to the limitations of solely macroscopic explanations of desegregation. Authors in this section include Mark Granovetter, Hubert Blalock, and Walter Mischel. The main focus of the four essays in Part IV, "A Reconsideration of Methods," is an evaluation of the major methodological approaches to desegregation research: attitude research, small group research, demographic and ecological analysis, and quasi-experimentation. Morris Rosenberg, Bennetta Jules-Rosette and High Mechan, Harold Rose, and Thomas Cook assess these approaches with respect to their ability to measure the importance that situational features hold for desegregation outcomes. Finally, in Part V, articles by Herbert Hyman and J. Milton Yinger consider new directions in, and the implications of, situational analysis for future research on school desegregation. (GC)

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ADVANCING THE ART OF INQUIRY
IN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION RESEARCH

A project sponsored by the National Institute of Education
and administered by System Development Corporation

April 1983

TM-7081/001/01

The work upon which this publication is
based was performed under NIE Contract 400-80-0039.
It does not necessarily represent the views of the
National Institute of Education.

System Development Corporation
2500 Colorado Ave.
Santa Monica, California 90406

UD 023160

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PROJECT PARTICIPANTS

Project Director	Jeffrey Prager, University of California, Los Angeles
Project Manager	Douglas Longshore, System Development Corporation
Consultant to the Project	Melvin Seeman, University of California, Los Angeles
Project Officer	Jeffrey Schneider, National Institute of Education
Authors	Hubert Blalock, University of Washington
	Thomas Cook, Northwestern University
	Mark Granovetter, State University of New York, Stony Brook
	Herbert Hyman, Wesleyan University
	Bennetta Jules-Rosette, University of California, San Diego
	Hugh Mehan, University of California, San Diego
	Walter Mischel, Stanford University
	John Ogbu, University of California, Berkeley
	Harold Rose, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
	Morris Rosenberg, University of Maryland
	Gerald Suttles, University of Chicago
	J. Milton Yinger, Oberlin College

Reviewers	Jomills Henry Braddock, Johns Hopkins University
	Kenneth Clark, Clark, Phipps, Clark, and Harris
	Robert L. Crain, Johns Hopkins University and The Rand Corporation
	Halford Fairchild, University of California, Los Angeles
	Stanley Lieberson, University of Arizona
	David Lopez, University of California, Los Angeles
	Norman Miller, University of Southern California
	George Noblit, University of North Carolina
	Thomas Pettigrew, University of California, Santa Cruz
	Julian Samora, Notre Dame University
	Janet Schofield, University of Pittsburgh

PART I

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION: THE DESEGREGATION SITUATION

Jeffrey Prager, Douglas Longshore, and Melvin Seeman

The publication of this volume may come as a surprise to those who have followed the career of school desegregation research. Beginning in 1954 with the landmark Brown decision, scholarly interest in the topic steadily escalated through the 1960's and 1970's. As one community after another formulated and implemented programs to desegregate their schools and as controversy swirled around those programs, the research pace quickened. In response to various "stakeholders," all of whom wanted to know more about the phenomenon--government policy-makers, judges, lawyers, school administrators, teachers, and parents--social scientists attempted to assess, in particular, the outcomes of school desegregation. But as the interest in, and commitment to, school desegregation has waned in the late 1970's and the 1980's--both by the public at large and by federal, state, and local governments--the impulse to understand the phenomenon through scholarly investigation has similarly diminished. Thus, a new consideration of school desegregation research now seems, from this vantage point, strangely anachronistic to the spirit of the age.

Yet there are sound reasons why we can benefit today from a rethinking of what we know, with an eye toward defining what we still need to find out about school desegregation. First, while desegregation may no longer be a social desideratum uppermost in the minds of policy-makers, educators, or the general public, there is no question that the problems of racially integrated schools in America will continue to be pressing. Whether legally mandated or not, the fact is that American schools will be more racially heterogeneous than ever before. We are currently witnessing a migration to America, from Central America and the Far East, unprecedented since the turn of the century and, in addition, dramatic movements toward the suburbanization of racial minorities--both of these migrations producing a clear movement away from the racially homogeneous school. Or, more to the point, we are seeing the end of the all-white public school. School desegregation, in short, will be a feature of our lives whether or not the public or the courts express a concern for the problem. This volume recognizes the endurance of this issue in American society.

It is our view that desegregation research could well benefit from reconsideration precisely because the topic is increasingly removed from the public spotlight. Once the press of events no longer propels research willy-nilly in different directions (often with different conclusions), serving different purposes, and speaking to different masters, it now becomes possible to take stock more calmly of what we know and what we still need to find out. Such stock-taking is seldom possible when academic research is closely monitored by involved and competing publics. And as we have suggested, this quiescent period may be the lull before the next storm; if so, it is a lull that is useful in order to consolidate findings and crystallize understandings. It is our hope that this volume will promote this end.

There is a further reason for this volume at this time, perhaps the most important one. As we see it, the intense commitment in the past to studying desegregation has not produced a commensurate understanding of the problem. In fact, it is not certain whether we have learned very much that is definitive about the phenomenon, thirty years after extensive research on the topic began. We are not the first to note this. Recent literature reviews (e.g., Schofield, 1978; Stephan, 1978) have come to similar conclusions. Even the intense preoccupation with assessing the effects of desegregation has produced only mixed findings, certainly not strong enough to formulate policy. Why have such dedicated efforts produced relatively few payoffs?

INADEQUACIES OF DESEGREGATION RESEARCH

In our view, desegregation research has suffered because it is atheoretical. It has come to stand as a kind of scholarship guided only by public concerns and public issues, not by theoretically generated empirical questions. The research, by and large, has been carefully constructed and crafted, but the questions typically asked about desegregation have been almost exclusively and directly in the service of issues posed by various interested parties. It is no wonder, then, that as those parties became less interested, desegregation studies lost their impetus and rationale.

Two examples can be offered of the inadequacies of scholarly research when it simply responds to questions that are formulated by the public. First, as previously noted, the preponderant concern by scholars has been to assess the impact of desegregation. But without sound theoretical guidelines, there has emerged little scientific consensus concerning the basic meaning of "effects" (academic achievement, interracial cooperation, equal-status contact, "white flight") or whether effects should be assessed in the short-term or long-term. Different social groups have emphasized different effects as important, and the discrepancy within the research on outcomes reveals the extent to which researchers have been defining their questions in terms of the interested parties, not in terms of scientifically derived criteria of evaluation.

Scientific inquiry, in short, sacrificed its autonomy and lacked a distinctive agenda of its own. There is a second consequence of research that possesses no autonomy from public concerns. Scientific inquiry on school desegregation has lost its credibility. Where scientific studies have typically played a pivotal role in American society to forge consensus by transcending ideological divisions, here they entered into the political fray and lost their ability to arbitrate. Thus we have witnessed in the course of the past several years scientific controversy transposed to public debate (e.g., Coleman et al., 1975; Armor, 1978; Pettigrew and Green, 1976). "Applied" science, when governed by no other questions than policy ones, becomes exclusively instrumental, serving those groups capable of employing findings on their own behalf. Research findings, rather than offering clarity and credibility, become instead part of the heat of controversy. The result, in the end, is to undermine the credibility of all social science, increasingly seen as a tool to be used by the powers-that-be. For this reason, then, we believe that school desegregation requires reconsideration--not in the interest of either pro-integrationists or anti-integrationists, pro-busing or anti-busing, nor even for the edification of judges, politicians, school administrators, or parents. Rather, it is our intention to claim the study of school desegregation for social science, as a researchable domain of inquiry in search of a coherent theoretical orientation. Only then, in our view, will the studies be of genuine usefulness both to social science and to the national political community.

The remarkable feature of past studies on desegregation is that no consistent definition of desegregation has emerged. Studies have defined desegregation in highly divergent and sometimes contradictory ways. For that reason, many commentators have suggested that desegregation research should move away from its preoccupation with effects and concentrate instead on the desegregation process itself. There is a pressing need, they argue, to begin with the problem of conceptualizing desegregation (e.g., Cohen, 1975; Hawley and Rist, 1975; St. John, 1975; Schofield, 1978; Stephan, 1978). That, too, has been the inspiration behind this volume.

We have chosen to organize these papers around one central, overarching theme: the "desegregation situation." In our view, if we could theoretically comprehend the parameters of the situation and the elements which comprise it, and if we could specify the methods capable of measuring and assessing the situation, we would be moving forward to understanding what school desegregation is all about. We would be closer to understanding what we mean when we say "desegregation" and why it has proven to be "successful" in one setting and not in another.

There are both practical and, more fundamentally, conceptual reasons for insisting that we do not currently understand the desegregation situation. In practical terms, the racial proportions that distinguish "segregated" from "desegregated" schools have varied widely across locales and over time. Immediately after Brown, Southern schools were considered desegregated even if only a handful of blacks were enrolled. More recently, some desegregation plans have set more stringent requirements. In 1977, for example, a Los Angeles school with roughly equal proportions of white, black, Hispanic, and Asian students was considered segregated under the school board's plan because the proportion of whites in the school was not between 30% and 70%. Sociologists have defined desegregation in such divergent ways that schools considered desegregated in some studies would have been considered segregated in others (Schofield, 1978). For example, in one study, a New York school that was 90% black was considered segregated (Singer, 1966), while in another study, a Boston school that was was over 95% white was considered "token desegregated" (Useem, 1976). In short, our difficulty with understanding the "desegregation situation" is partly definitional: What range of racial proportions is adequate for defining desegregation?

More fundamentally, however, our difficulty with the desegregation situation is also conceptual. For the most part, social scientists have looked for the effects of desegregation (however defined) without linking those effects to underlying processes and without bringing relevant theoretical work to bear on the findings. Consequently, even when desegregation has had some measurable effect, we have no clear sense of why or exactly how that effect occurred (see Cohen, 1975; Longshore, 1982; St. John, 1975; Schofield, 1978; Stephan, 1978). These practical and conceptual difficulties in comprehending the desegregation situation signal the more general failure among social scientists to come to terms with the concept of the "situation" itself.

THE "SITUATION" IN SOCIAL SCIENCE

The "situation" as a social scientific concept has a long history in the fields of sociology, social psychology, and psychology, but only recently has it been the object of renewed interest in those fields. And yet no single conceptual mechanism seems better suited to provide clarity and insight to disparate approaches in the study of school desegregation. To speak of the situation is to acknowledge, first, as Kurt Lewin (1935) established in his "field-theoretical" approach, that behavior is a product of a particular field of action that possesses its own unique qualities. Lewin's field theory was heavily influenced by Gestalt psychologists, e.g., Wertheimer, Koffka, and Kohler, who were principally concerned with the psychology of perception. The central principle of Gestalt psychology is that qualities exist in the whole that are absent in the constitutive parts; thus, the context through which behavior is produced cannot be deduced from the separate pieces.

Lewin expanded upon this theory of perceptual organization by offering a broader social psychology of individual behavior. He viewed the person and the environment as parts of a single field. Rather than observing a person as a separate entity divorced from the field, Lewin argued that one should study individuals in their field of forces, in a group and in light of their positions and roles within the group. Lewin's concern was to ascertain the significance of the individual's behavior and thereby to enhance scientific predictability.

To understand or predict behavior, Lewin insisted, the person and the environment have to be considered as a single constellation of interdependent factors. The interaction between these two, person and environment, produce thinking, striving, and individual action, i.e., outcomes. Behavior, in short, is a function of "life space"; thus, the dynamic analysis of behavior must begin with the situation as a whole. Rather than beginning with isolated elements of the situation and later attempting to organize them into an integrated system, field theory begins with a description of the situation as a whole. After an initial characterization of the whole situation, it is then possible to examine it for specific elements and relations among these elements.

With respect to the psychology of desegregation, the importance of this situational perspective will become evident in several of the essays that follow. However, field theory as proposed by Lewin cannot fully satisfy a sociological orientation--one concerned more with identifying the relevant structures of the situation than with understanding the cognitive and perceptual processes of individuals. Despite its extension beyond a purely perceptual psychology, Lewin's perspective remains essentially an approach to understanding behavior through a personal frame of reference. Reflecting this psychological bias, behavior, in the end, is conceived as individual choice, constrained by forces impinging upon that person's cognition and perception. Situational and personal variables are not, in fact, treated together both as dependent and as independent variables determining behavior; rather, Lewin posits the outcome variable, personal behavior, as contingent upon situational factors.

J. Milton Yinger, a prominent sociologist (and one of the authors in this volume) who is sympathetic to field theory has, in fact, argued that behavior must be conceived as simultaneously situational and personal. According to Yinger, a genuinely social psychological approach would focus on "individual behavior in the social context" and, therefore, would incorporate both psychological and sociological factors. To neglect either of these approaches, Yinger insists, results in less accurate predictions of individual behavior. To accomplish this, Yinger perceives the need to reformulate Lewin's field theory to incorporate a richer sensitivity to sociological, or situational, factors. "In Lewin's work, field means 'psychological field,' that part of the total series of forces that is perceived by an individual. It seems reasonable to a psychologically trained person to say that an individual cannot be influenced by a force of which he is unaware.... What is missed by this kind of observation is recognition that a person's perceptions are a function not only of his sensitivities but also of the available stimuli, many of them derived from culture and social structure. Priority in determining behavior can be assigned neither to the sensitivities of the person nor to the facilitating forces in the environment, because both are involved in the equation" (Yinger, 1963: 583; see also Yinger, 1965).

Accordingly, Yinger argues for an interdisciplinary approach to the study of human behavior, one that aspires to identify the pertinent variables and to measure their interrelationships. In an important way, Yinger's argument for such an approach which situates the individual in context can be seen to prefigure what many of the following essays have tried to accomplish.

From a somewhat different angle, symbolic interactionism, deriving from the pragmatic tradition of Dewey, James, and Mead, also points to the significance of situational analysis. This approach lays heavy emphasis on individual autonomy and voluntarism. Hubert Blumer (1969), for example, is sharply critical of sociological analyses which treat social structure, cultural norms, and the like as determinants of social action. At the same time, the perspective remains adamantly sociological in insisting that those "exogenous" variables are not irrelevant to understanding social processes but are mediated through a collective definition within given settings or situations. These larger structural variables are best treated, it is argued, as resources available to various actors for negotiation. The emphasis on negotiation points not only to the autonomy of the individual but also to the permeability or fluidity of the social structure (Strauss, 1978).

More specifically, symbolic interactionists, in their concern for the "definition of the situation," are typically concerned with the degree of shared orientations which participants bring to a situation. The implication is that cooperative interaction is more likely to occur if participants in a situation share compatible definitions or orientations. Conversely, dissensus inhibits the emergence of concerted action.

Ralph Turner's role theory, for example, argues that cooperative action is more likely when actors share a similar repertoire of roles and can define one another's behavior in terms of that shared repertoire. When repertoires differ, or when the same roles are understood to mean something very different and participants interpret the "same" piece of conduct as an expression of different roles, cooperative action is less likely (Turner, 1970). Glaser and Strauss' (1964) discussion of awareness contexts and Scheff's (1967, 1970) work on consensus, while not focusing on different role repertoires, examine how different distributions of information can generate situations characterized by varying levels of consensus. Erving Goffman, too, has been concerned with specifying relevant attributes of situations. He suggests, for example, that situations can vary along a continuum of tightness (or looseness), "depending on how disciplined the individual is obliged to be in connection with the several ways in which respect for the gathering and its social occasion can be expressed" (Goffman, 1963: 199).

In short, this attention to the situation represents a general appreciation of the variability and significance of context. The degree of shared orientation, or shared meaning, that individuals bring to a setting has consequences for the kinds of behavior, and outcomes, produced by that context. The applicability of such insights to the desegregation situation, where individuals of different backgrounds and experiences interact, is self-evident. In addition to sensitizing the researcher to this variable dimension, symbolic interactionism has further suggested several domains which, within the situation, may be especially consequential for desegregation outcomes.

But while both field theory and symbolic interactionism has long argued for attention to the situation, they have certainly not been well heeded in much of the recent research. To avoid overstatement, it is only fair to mention the critique of trait theory made within social psychology by Walter Mischel (1973)--another author in this volume--and others. Clearly this critique represents a "situational" antidote to a psychology which has tended to ignore context. And in sociology, the work of Joseph Berger and others in "expectation states" (see Berger et al., 1977, 1980; Cohen, 1982) implicitly holds a theory of the situation, where status characteristics are seen to operate contextually through individuals in determining given outcomes. Similarly, the "new sociology of education" embodies a micro version of situational analysis in its ethnomethodological focus on how people construct the reality of their daily interaction, e.g., the everyday classroom interaction between teachers and students (Young, 1973; Karabel and Halsey, 1977; Mehan, 1979; for a treatment of this, see Jules-Rosette and Mehan in this volume).

Yet the fact remains that, certainly with respect to desegregation studies, the situation has not been accorded the theoretical centrality it ought to if we are to understand the process and to predict possible outcomes. At the same time, we are not suggesting that field theory or symbolic interactionism, as a social scientific orientation, necessarily represents the magic key to fully understanding desegregation. While both have focused on the situation, each has been accused rightly of failing to move toward a trans-situational perspective on the situation. Although critical of global psychological or sociological theories which attempt to understand and/or predict outcomes because of their failure to consider micro-contexts, these approaches have failed to provide a systematic inductive theory of the situation. As a result, we are hardly closer to the objective of understanding social processes beyond any one given context.

The problem with these two traditions is even more profound. In both, there is an inherent impulse to reduce social or psychological forces to those elements that are directly observable within the setting itself. Each shares in a tendency toward empirical reductionism, as Yinger has noted with respect to field theory. Anything that cannot be observed at the level of the situation cannot be studied. Thus both perspectives suffer from a difficulty in understanding how larger structural parameters--e.g., authority, power, resources--can influence behavior.(For a rather different view, see Stryker, 1981.)

No one can hope to bring these diverse perspectives into a single interdisciplinary "theory of the situation." That is not the purpose of this volume. Rather, we have attempted to consider the problem of school desegregation research with the situation as the focal point of inquiry. We see the situation as that arena when social and psychological forces converge and impinge upon individual behavior. In our view, it is important to appreciate and make vivid the fact that, regardless of theoretical orientation, outcomes are the result of real, concrete processes that occur in the social world. To focus on the situation is to insist that one's theoretical or disciplinary predisposition not obscure this fundamental fact. Seen as the setting in which various processes operate, the situation is offered less as a theory of outcomes, and more as an insistence that causality cannot be established without an identification and specification of the local processes through which it operates.

The following essays are intended to provide a more thematic coherence to a field sorely lacking any central theoretical orientation. By considering and promoting the situation as the theoretical lynchpin around which school desegregation research ought to turn, it is our hope that both the academic debates and the policy ones might be subsumed under this more inclusive, less divisive effort to realize the significant features of the desegregation situation. The aim is to sidestep those debates, seemingly endemic to social-science research, concerning the relative significance of macro or micro forces on social outcomes, the consequentiality of proximal or distal features in determining behavior, and the role of objective or subjective processes in orienting action. Within each of these controversies, we suggest that the situation be perceived as a variable in its own right. The influence of these features cannot be established a priori as theoretical proclamation. Rather, we should recognize that their impact can vary by setting.

Some social-science research (desegregation studies notwithstanding) has pitted micro explanations against macro ones. It may be, as Randall Collins (1981) has suggested, that the entire controversy need not exist (see also Blalock and Wilken, 1979). Nevertheless, the fact remains that the chasm between a global orientation and a microscopic one remains wide, and there is little evidence of convergence. Large-scale studies, using aggregate data from metropolitan, state, or even national sources, have competed with micro, experimental, or ethnographic studies of single classrooms (or, perhaps, whole schools). A theoretical appreciation of the significance of situational factors in determining outcomes would enable researchers, at both the macro and the micro levels, to identify relevant contextual variables affecting outcomes. Situational analysis, in short, does not solve existing theoretical controversies, but it does possess the potential to subsume them to a more inclusive pattern of research inquiry, where both macro and micro studies clearly ought to play a key role.

Just as a theoretical appreciation of the situation requires recognition of the role that concrete mediation plays between exogenous variables--whether social, cultural, or personality traits--situational analysis might also provide a mechanism of reconciliation between those researchers committed to understanding the objective world of institutional constraints and those principally interested in the subjective world of "meaning making." The consequentiality of either cannot be understood as separate from the setting in which those forces become manifest. Mediation is required within a given situation. The relevant properties of the context by which objective constraint becomes implemented is no less significant a domain of inquiry than the mechanisms through which certain meanings of the situation are crafted.

Similarly, as Morris Rosenberg discusses in this volume, explanations that view social action distally remain sharply counterposed to the more phenomenological, proximal orientation of certain social researchers. Situational analysis, as the appropriate locus on inquiry, requires that desegregation researchers hold simultaneously for the influence of both proximal and distal perspectives on the part of situated individuals.

In short, the significance of the situation lies in recognizing that, to the extent that they are of consequence, macro and micro processes, objective and subjective forces, and proximal and distal influences become operationalized in situ. To seek to uncover its properties and to appreciate its centrality is to provide a mechanism of reconciliation with respect to controversies which, in terms of understanding outcomes in society, serve no useful or practical purpose.

Similarly, and more concretely, what now stand as central debates within the school desegregation literature--e.g., the degree of white flight, achievement levels, interracial attitudes, etc.--could be deprived of their overly powerful political potency through an appreciation of situational variability. Precisely because the situation has not played a prominent theoretical role in desegregation studies, findings in Los Angeles, for example, that school busing has produced substantial white flight have been elevated to a more general conclusion that busing per se produces substantial white flight. Yet such a conclusion should only have been a preliminary finding, requiring that the outcome be properly situated within specific context variables. What was the context in Los Angeles--politically, socially, culturally, demographically, and so forth--that framed the decision to bus? What was the meaning of the decision as understood by the various publics affected? And so on. Such an investigation--where the context becomes the prominent object of inquiry--would prevent social-science research from simply being appropriated by the public realm for non-social-science purposes.

In summary, the situation offers a conceptual apparatus best designed to advance the art of inquiry in school desegregation research. In addition to providing some theoretical coherence to widely disparate research traditions, it also coordinates well with the social and legal pragmatics of school desegregation, as suggested in a review by Hawley and Rist, "On the Future Implementation of School Desegregation." Their reconstruction of the assumptions and findings in existing research leads them to the conclusion that desegregation remedies will have "to be strongly situation-specific" (Hawley and Rist, 1975, 424; emphasis added).

THE CURRENT PROJECT

This project was initiated in 1980 by the National Institute of Education, under whose auspices and support the project proceeded. As editors of this volume, we had the responsibility of selecting outstanding social scientists to reconsider school desegregation research. And in the interest of "advancing the art of inquiry," we purposely selected social scientists who had not already become highly identified with that body of research and who were not well-known for established positions concerning school desegregation. Our intention was to have these commissioned authors apply their already demonstrated theoretical and methodological talents to this particular substantive field, and thereby to breathe fresh life into a research tradition which, while relatively new, was already becoming fractionated by political and ideological squabbling.

At the same time, we did not believe it wise simply to ignore the substantial expertise of the established researchers in the field. We asked many of these scholars to participate as reviewers to help ensure that the central issues or available literatures were not ignored by our authors, each admittedly something of a novice in this particular field. Several reviewers, in addition, participated in the two conferences that were convened for the authors in Santa Monica, California.

These two conferences were held in August, 1981, and March, 1982. There, the "situation" was the central focus of the discussion. While we were intent on giving the authors freedom to consider the field of desegregation research from their own perspectives, we expected that they would incorporate a concern for the situation. Our aim was not to produce eleven abstract, scholarly treatises on the situation; rather, by sensitizing the authors to these issues of context and the problems they pose in seeking understanding and prediction, we hoped to produce a consideration of desegregation research from many diverse angles, but with the situation clearly embedded within the several discussions. As the reader of this volume will no doubt observe, certain social scientific orientations and perspectives clearly lend themselves more readily to situational issues; and the following essays incorporate these concerns to varying degrees. But we trust that the reader will find the cumulative result impressive, giving credence and sustenance to our guiding conviction that desegregation research could benefit from a more self-conscious theoretical orientation.

The first two articles in the volume (Part II, "School Desegregation in Context") are written by Gerald Suttles and John Ogbu. These are the most general in approach and are intended to place the study of school desegregation in the larger context of American racial and ethnic stratification. In both of these essays, consideration of the situation has produced new and important insights on the relation of school desegregation to larger social processes. Each is critical of "micro" studies which fail to appreciate how "macro" forces become operationalized in the school setting.

Gerald Suttles, known principally for his own ethnographic work, challenges the overwhelmingly micro bias held by ethnographic researchers of school desegregation. In "School Desegregation and 'The National Community,'" he suggests that the school desegregation process is strongly influenced by ethnic politics in the society at large; hence, the study of what goes on in the classroom cannot ignore the influence of this force. Moreover, Suttles' paper is an argument for the importance of macro cultural variables in school settings, first, by examining how ethnic-mythic history becomes translated into a psychological set held by individuals and, second, by observing the strength of cosmopolitan civic culture and its influence on the desegregation process.

John Ogbu's work, "Structural Constraints in School Desegregation," similarly identifies macro variables, though in this case principally economic ones, which are consequential for the desegregated setting. Suggesting that changing technology and economic needs impinge upon the perception of school administrators and staff and, further, that patterns of discrimination influence the epistemology of minority groups, Ogbu argues that school outcomes cannot be understood independently of this larger socio-economic order.

The articles in Part III, "New Theoretical Directions," represent the search, inspired by attention to context, for new theoretical directions in desegregation research. In contrast to the papers by Suttles and Ogbu, these articles point to the limitations of solely macroscopic explanations of desegregation, with an eye to more carefully specifying how micro-structures influence given outcomes.

Mark Granovetter, in "The Micro Structure of School Desegregation," explores in detail one of the most crucial situational determinants of behavior in desegregated settings: the structure of social relations among participants. For Granovetter, failure to appreciate the complexity of issues related to the social structure of desegregation is a major cause of the confusion concerning the effects of desegregation. Thus, Granovetter moves beyond a simple notion of social structure composed only of friendship ties and argues for an examination of weak and strong ties, ties of friendship and enmity, as well as for the need to situate the findings within a temporal and historical framework.

Hubert Blalock is also concerned with "situating" macro variables that operate distally within a micro theory of the situation. His concern, in "A Model for Racial Contact in Schools," is to locate a reasonably small number of general variables that operate at a very proximate level for the actors concerned. Blalock suggests a number of different contact dimensions and links them to characteristics of settings that may influence the nature of cross-racial or cross-ethnic contacts, thereby promoting different desegregation outcomes by situation.

Walter Mischel, as a psychologist, differs in approach and argument from the sociology of Blalock and Granovetter. Nevertheless, his "Trait Theory Revisited: A Cognitive Social Learning View of School Desegregation" is also an effort to understand the mediation of macro orientations through situational variables. In a powerful statement against trait theory, Mischel insists that what is done, or thought, or felt in a given situation cannot be understood through a knowledge of individual dispositions but "depends on the physical and psychological context in which the event was experienced, the knowledge and skills that the subject brings to the context, etc...." Mischel, further, delineates several features of the "psychological situation" intended to explain given and variable outcomes.

The main focus of the four essays in Part IV, "A Reconsideration of Methods," is an evaluation of the major methodological approaches to desegregation research: attitude research, small group research, demographic and ecological analysis, and quasi-experimentation. Once again, the task in each of these articles is to assess these approaches with respect to their ability to measure the import that situational features hold for desegregation outcomes. Through this critique, the authors suggest new directions for assessment and measurement.

Morris Rosenberg, in "Self-Esteem Research: A Phenomenological Corrective," is sharply critical of the prevailing self-esteem research because of its failure to mediate its findings through the individual's experience. "If we are to understand the psychological impact of social structure or social context," he writes, "we must understand how it structures and governs the individual's experience." In the interest of promoting an analysis that can account for situational variability, Rosenberg argues compellingly against research that attempts to explain outcomes distally, i.e., from afar. He takes issue with those who attempt to inpute meaning from objective features of the setting, e.g., as functions of race, socio-economic status, or ethnicity. Rather, Rosenberg insists that research must interpret the emergent, subjective meanings as they operate phenomenologically and proximally in individuals embedded in the given context.

A similar position is struck by Bennetta Jules-Rosette and Hugh Mehan, in "Schools and Social Structure: An Ethnomethodological Linkage." Suggesting, like Granovetter, that social-science researchers need to refine their understanding of social structure by attending to its more micro properties, they further argue that desegregation must be situated within the "daily lives of educators and students to determine how its consequences may be most effectively assessed." Their interest, in fact, is not the social structure per se, as it is for Granovetter, nor the "psychological situation" as it is for Mischel, but instead the social interactional patterns and adjustments of the desegregated student. Identifying specific arenas for further study (for example, classroom, testing and referral within the desegregated school), Jules-Rosette and Mehan insist that the social structure/social interaction dualism--so pervasive an assumption in desegregation research--itself must be collapsed.

Harold Rose, in "Demography and School Desegregation Research," uses the situational perspective to evaluate demographic and ecological methods of school desegregation research. He is critical of much of the previous research because of a common failure to "situate" spatial or ecological analysis. Rose argues, first, for a greater appreciation by ecologists and demographers of the realm of intentionality (or subjectivity), where patterns of racial concentration or diffusion are not purely features of "objective" forces but are the consequence, as well, of specific meanings held by key actors in those settings. Rose is further critical of the purely macro approach to demographics, arguing instead for the adoption of "micro-scale demographic techniques." Rose argues that outcomes like white flight must be understood through a kind of contextual analysis that, thus far, demographers have been unwilling to engage in.

Finally, Thomas Cook, in "Quasi-Experimental Research on the Desegregation Situation," speaks directly and forcefully to the promise and problems of situational analysis. He identifies the difficulties in specifying a situational domain, selecting particular variables, and establishing with confidence the crucial causal links between specific situations and the outcome variables of interest. At the same time, and despite the difficulties that such a methodology poses, Cook asserts the advantages for desegregation research of a thorough-going situational approach.

In sum, each of the subsequent articles attempts to advance the art of inquiry in school desegregation research through a greater sensitivity to situational variables and situational variability. This effort to balance micro/macro, distal/proximal, and objective/subjective distinctions through a keen sense of the concrete setting through which these forces operate promises to give greater coherence to work on school desegregation, where previously little consensus could be discerned. But even more importantly, these theoretical and methodological discussions point the way to new research directions. These new directions, and the implications of situational analysis for future research on school desegregation, are given explicit attention by our two "synthesis" authors, Herbert Hyman and J. Milton Yinger. As they note, situational analysis holds profound implications for the future course of desegregation studies. These eleven articles raise new questions, they identify new and potentially consequential elements of the school setting, and they offer a new perspective by which to evaluate previous work.

We believe that the following articles, taken together, represent an exciting collection because they have the potential to transform the character of school desegregation research. In placing desegregation studies within the social scientific problem of the situation, and in establishing the connection of this empirical problem to a long-standing theoretical tradition in the social sciences, the credibility and vitality of school desegregation may well be restored. Only time will tell whether the result of this volume will promote better understanding and a greater capacity to predict desegregation outcomes. But it is certainly true that, as a result of the contributions of these twelve prominent social scientists, there is the promise that desegregation research can now become more firmly situated within social science. As a result, school desegregation research will possess greater potential to inform and educate the public rather than remaining a prisoner of the public mood.

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PART II

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN CONTEXT

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION
AND 'THE NATIONAL COMMUNITY'

Gerald D. Suttles

What can an ethnographer, usually in solo practice, tell us about such an open-ended, volatile, and prolonged process as school desegregation in America? Obviously some have already risen to the occasion, demonstrating the versatility of this approach. In what follows, I hope to build on that accomplishment. The aim, however, is not simply to summarize the findings and methods of these studies or to recommend specific procedures. Since ethnography is almost always a highly localized effort, the pressing need is for a broader macro-sociological framework that does three things for the ethnographer: (1) links his/her findings to those of other studies, only some of which are ethnographic; (2)provides a mapping of relevant variables which places these studies in a comparative and cumulative research tradition; and (3) directs ethnographic studies to those strategic areas which have been neglected and are especially appropriate to its intensive, in situ approach.

My intention, then, is to provide such a general framework, but in doing so I will probably depart from precedent by emphasizing three assumptions about school desegregation. First, school desegregation is best viewed as the continuation of several social movements which seek to negotiate the status claims of primordial groups.[1] That is to say, it is not simply a movement to improve education in the narrow sense of increasing student abilities or the capacity of students to compete in an open class system. It is as well a social debate of national dimensions in which various primordial groups seek to exercise their political will by redefining their relative status and their membership in the national community itself. This is one of the reasons that debates over school desegregation have a tendency to enlarge themselves to include a host of tangential issues, including access to jobs, community control, and what I will call the founding myths of national membership.

A second reason for this decision to generalize over a wide range of issues is the continuing imbalance between American judicial and political processes. Judicial initiative on school desegregation has persisted for over 25 years. Within the political party system, however, the debate remains unresolved. Indeed, political support for school desegregation is so "soft" that it

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I would like to thank the other members of this project for their comments and assistance in preparing this paper. I am also beholden to Kirsten Gronbjerg, Morris Janowitz, and Charles Bidwell for their frank comments on an earlier draft. I would also like especially to thank Robert Crain for his detailed comments, and I hope that I have done them justice.

practically invites opposition. The persistence of political irresolution has created a profound ambiguity that permits groups to open and reopen almost any issue that they think bears on school desegregation. This, I suppose, is one reason there are so many studies which seek to prove that desegregation is "good" for school children rather than simply an integral element of civic life in a democratic society. Supporters and opponents of school desegregation continue to grasp for evidence to support their claims because political leadership so frequently teeters on the edge of support or opposition.

Third, public schools in America are only weakly differentiated from the local community. This is so not only because of their accountability to client representatives and the interpenetration of youth and school cultures, but also because schools are susceptible to the episodic emergence of novel efforts to influence them from a host of directions: to include school prayer, to teach creation science, to expunge controversial literature, and to define the historic contributions of difference primordial groups. Sometimes a school staff is able to neutralize the board by controlling appointments, coopt parents through the PTA, and contain the student subculture with extracurricular activities (Bidwell, 1965). But the onset of school desegregation almost invariably tests the boundaries of school systems and shows them highly vulnerable. What happens, however, seems to be extremely variable and circumstantial. Sometimes it is the occasion for the emergence of new and demogogic leadership; a Louise Day Hicks, a William Poe, or a George Wallace. But it can also be the occasion for parental initiative motivated out of a simple concern that school desegregation be a relatively peaceful process.[2]

Taken together, these observations move me toward a macrosociological approach to school desegregation. By this I mean a perspective which assumes that the outer perimeter of influences is the dominant one, that social movements and primordial contests for status tend to set the agenda for judicial institutions and political parties, that the latter tend to define much of the situation for local communities, and that the schools are buffeted from every quarter and possess only a limited capacity for self-regulation. In approaching this topic I will follow the same general pattern, starting with the broader picture and working my way inward toward the local school and community. Implicity I am suggesting that ethnographers do the same in formulating their studies if they are to serve as more than "case studies."

STUDIES OF THE GENERAL CHARACTER OF AMERICAN SCHOOLS

In reviewing the literature on school desegregation, I am persistently surprised at the positive expectations of researchers.[3] It is expected that minority performance will increase, that interracial relations will improve, and that local civic life will quicken. Actually in most instances I would have expected the reverse. After decades of pervasive school segregation, there is little reason to expect agreeable interracial relations in the short term. A strong academic social climate is always difficult to achieve in our public schools, where problems of social control are intensified (Waller, 1932; Bidwell, 1965). Civic cooperation usually rests on durable relations and some form of local patriotism.

Accordingly, it is with some perlexity that I find that most studies of school desegregation show some modest positive effect on interracial relations and achievement if not on civic cooperation. Of course there are some substantial differences, but the outstanding finding seems to be their unevenness with respect to desegregation itself (Schofield, 1978; St John, 1981). It is possible that one reason for this is that we--and I include myself here--have forgotten what our schools are like before or after desegregation, that we have assigned to the school too instrumental and pedagogic a role on the one hand, and overemphasized the unity of the social world of the student on the other hand. To get a handle on this, it is useful to go back and reexamine some of the charter studies of schools before desegregation became such an overwhelming issue. Waller's (1932) work is a good starting point not only because it is synthetic, but because it is informed by the kind of long-term personal experience that ethnographers rely upon. On inspection, Waller's work is permeated with observations on the weaknesses of the academic subculture in American schools. It competes effectively for the attention of only a minority of students, most of whom are more attracted by alternative avenues of popularity and associational choice. This sort of internal differentiation seems built into the American conception of a "common school." It was designed not just for the purpose of maximizing academic achievement but for providing a shared civic experience as well. In this respect, the common school was more nearly a form of a nation-building than academic preparation alone. What students got out of the school was a shared sense of membership, a familiarity with some elements of popular culture and bits and pieces of national myth and ceremony (Janowitz, 1980).[4] Some, of course, became well educated but the academic subculture always included only a portion of the student body. The social worlds of the school were intensely experienced, but most were only lightly shaped by the educational institution itself. In such an accommodating environment it is to be expected that students would carry along with them many of their initial differences while acquiring only a smattering of common knowledge and national culture.

Gordon's (1957) study on this topic remains one of the most persuasive. It is as if school staff found it necessary to leave unchallenged fundamental differences among students in order to accomplish a modest level of generalized cognitive and civic education. There are differences, of course, especially in the degree of staff professionalization and bureaucratization and their contributions to school autonomy (Bidwell, 1965). In some of our larger cities, schools became highly differentiated and more able to establish a stratification system emphasizing academic excellence (Street, 1969). Still it was primarily a system which facilitated educational attainment; it did not concentrate its incentives so as to create an intensive and pervasive educational experience.

Despite its shortcomings, such a school system did function to reduce differences in educational attainment among ethnic and racial groups, at least up to a point. The most conclusive evidence on this is the recent work of Stanley Lieberson (1980) who shows that by the early 1930's differences in educational attainment among Northern-born whites, Northern-born blacks and Northern-born descendents from Southern, Eastern, and Central Europe had practically disappeared except for somewhat higher levels of attainment among Jews. It was after this time that differences between Northern-born blacks and all the other groups began to widen.[5]

The relative improvement of black school performance in the non-South came to an end as their numbers outside the South markedly increased during and after World War I. Lieberson's very reasonable explanation is that hostility toward, and the segregation of, blacks was essentially a response to the growing threat they posed in the competition for jobs, housing, and institutional dominance. Prejudice, then, is not simply a uniform and persistent feeling based on racial distinctions and historic origins.

Lieberson's conception of latent prejudice aroused by increases in the black population does not fit well in either our older conceptions of ethnic groups as distinctive carriers of their own culture and self-image or more recent conceptions of internal colonialism (Blauner, 1972; Ogbu, 1974, 1978). The first tends to forecast a gradual waning of group differences over time, but what Lieberson's findings show is an initial decline in educational differences followed by a sharp reversal. The internal colonialism approach assumes that there is a real--not socially constructed--difference in how minority groups are incorporated into the national society. Such a view, however, would not lead us to expect either a reversal or initial decline in educational differences between blacks and whites. The possibility of a more socially constructed conception of group membership and status has an obvious attraction in coming to grips with such a fluctuating pattern of educational attainment. The internal colonialism argument provides a useful way of opening up this topic.

THE FOUNDING MYTHS OF NATIONAL MEMBERSHIP

The most articulate and empirically grounded of the studies using the internal colonialism approach to schooling and segregation is that of Ogbu (1974). Distinguishing between immigrant and subordinate minorities, he states that the "former are characterized by high success in school whereas the latter are marked by failure" (Ogbu, 1974: 253). Subordinate groups--by which he means blacks, Mexicans, and Indians--feel themselves defeated from the start. Immigrant groups share a self-fulfilling sense of self-determination. Essentially the distinction rests on the degree of voluntarism in the history of minority arrival in the country. Certainly Ogbu finds that blacks and Mexican Americans often see themselves as a people coerced by circumstances rather than willing members of the national community.[6] If one takes this

Actually some of the most interesting experiments carried out in schools are ones that somehow get done without the school board or higher administrators knowing anything about it. Despite the formal authority of higher administrators, they are in a poor position to know what is going on in such a physically dispersed system. As a result, school principals often have a great deal of latitude in what they attempt and a number of studies have focused on their different styles of administration (McPherson, 1970; Queeley, 1969; Noblit, 1979; Schofield and Sagar, 1979). What seems to be present is an entrepreneurial style that allows principals to extend their power by enlisting the support of others, particularly parents and teachers. Clearly some element of leadership is involved, and it is the sort of thing that too narrow a focus on "structural" characteristics is apt to overlook.

The more pervasive administrative response seems to be a frantic search for new innovations. Especially attractive are new hardware, teacher specialization, and techniques said to increase student motivation (Street, 1969; Hawley, 1977). As Hill (1977) points out, this sort of piecemeal innovation actually reduces organizational adaptability, that is, the serial alteration of different innovations with the aim of finding something that will work with a few students but without the expectation that it will work with all of them. Hill argues that this commitment to perpetual innovation, aimed to work for everyone, is deeply rooted in federal funding agencies for American education, i.e., innovators get the money.

Desegregation, of course, is only one of the conditions prompting this search for innovations (Bossert, 1978). The classroom, however, can be an almost impenetrable barrier, and persistent demands for innovation seem to be among the circumstances that are moving teachers to build a second wall around the classroom. A fascinating study by Lortie (1975) shows how both the gratifications of teaching and a sense of being embattled with parents and administrators encourages this search for classroom boundaries. His "craft model" of the school teacher role--conservatism, individualism and attention to immediate pressing demands--deserves further research attention.

All this means that there are several junctures at which the substantive intent of desegregated schooling can be subverted. The most blatant example I know of was a West Side Chicago school where blacks and whites were housed on different floors and arrived and left at different times. This did not improve racial relations, as each day the blacks walked silently, in mass, to and from school in a largely white neighborhood. One assumes that large-scale quantitative studies of integrated schools make some effort to determine classroom composition,[21] but a special effort by ethnographers is needed to disclose the numerous evasions that crop up and give an inverted meaning to "desegregation."

There is an abundance of classroom studies, most of them focusing on sociometric choice (Schofield, 1978), although St. John (1975) reports only one distinction literally, however, it tends to break down on the basis of historical analysis. As Alexander (1980) points out, nation-building practically everywhere has involved substantial coercion without necessarily being accompanied by persistent ethnic fragmentation. Indeed a literal reading of the distinction would lead to the classification of the Mormons or residents of the Confederate States as subordinate minorities, not to mention the Vietnamese or World War Two refugees.[7]

What seems to make the difference, then, is not so much the actual history of minority groups as the founding myths of national membership. It is mythic history, selected, elaborated and dramatized elements of history, that requires analysis here. The fact that it is taken as cognitive certainty is what makes this form of prejudice so slippery a phenomenon, as it loses its most direct forms of expression to reoccur in ones that seem downright humane, sympathetic, or scientific.

Ogbu's study of several different ethnic groups in Stockton is especially revealing on this point. Competing definitions of national membership are most immediately expressed in the taxonomy of racial and ethnic classification he reports (Ogbu 1974:40-41). Diverse groups, presumably of European origin, present themslves as "American," "whites," "taxpayers," and "Anglos." The inclusiveness and interchangeability of these terms indicate both their unity and their claim to full societal membership as a single race, as contributors to the corporate community and as members of the "core solidarity" (Alexander, 1980).[8] Among Ogbu's Burgersiders, terminological usage is more complex and less certain. The term "Mexican American" lays claim to membership in the national community while "Spanish American" seems to establish membership among "whites" and the founding community. "Chicano," however, asserts separate membership both racial and national. Indeed it seems to imply a pan-national membership defined by descent group alone. Ogbu does not report anyone using the term "Afro-American," a term that would seem to be comparable to "Mexican American." Instead the terms "colored," "Negro," and "black" are used alternatively, apparently indicating degrees of claimed parity with whites without seeming to assert a common membership in the founding community. Ogbu reports other elements of this taxonomy in some detail and clearly there are some local variants which differ from usage in other communities, say Chicago.

However, the overall pattern is very nearly what we would expect on the basis of the more obvious myths of national membership. These myths have always emphasized the Northern European flight from religious persecution, the establishment of the first effective communities in Virginia and Massachusetts,[9] the taming of the frontier, and the closure and defense of national boundaries. Elsewhere (Gronbjerg et al., 1978) I have argued that dramatic military service, capped by the First World War, was the basis for reinstating Southerners, at least white ones. The New Deal and the Second World War expanded these myths to include the new immigrants from Southern, Eastern, Central Europe, and paradoxically, the Japanese.[10] By no means does it appear easy to alter the boundaries of these incorporative myths. as will be evident to blacks who have made an extraordinary effort to accomplish mythic change by emphasizing Afro-American history and the basis of black pride. What seem to be required are selective and dramatic contributions to national solidarity during periods of crises: military service[11] (especially in wartime) unionization and worker mobilization during depression, heroic expansion of the frontier, or expansion of the national boundaries. It is possible that the Civil Rights Movement itself will provide some basis for similar heroic judgments in the future, although continued resistance to making Martin Luther King's birthday a national holiday indicates some of the obstacles. In any case it would appear that some historic distance is essential to such a heroic enlargement of the past.[12]

I do not mean to suggest by this that there is some inevitable, linear trend toward an enlargement of American founding myths. The result may be otherwise, with retribalization, pan-racism or some other form of separatism winning out. Ogbu's work as well as that of others (Isaacs, 1981) show nascent movements in this direction. Nor should one conclude that such an expansion of incorporative myths simply erases group boundaries and distinctive reputations. Some threshold of civic membership does seem to be essential; the Mormons as "latter day" pioneers, the Japanese as long suffering patriots, the Cubans as our "most recent economic miracle." These recent, celebrated instances of collective accomplishment seem to bring group consciousness into sharper relief, setting a higher standard than that expected of "ordinary Americans."[13] Such a fresh (and imperilled?) awareness of group gains seems to impart a sense of transcedence--the conviction that one is moving in unison with others toward some "higher goal."[14] Schooling and mobility in general require considerable discipline and self-sacrifice. Only the most doctrinaire economist of human resources can believe that the individual profit motive will move people to make the effort. Something like group patriotism seems to be involved, but it is group patriotism that is informed by recent reassurance.[15]

Undoubtedly the symbolism of these myths of national membership is infinitely complicated and compounded with racial and ethnic identities that extend beyond the American experience.[16] But basically one suspects that we have here another of those contrastive structures so common in the analysis of symbols. The native-born whites provide the benchmark against which others are compared. If and when other groups are incorporated in one of these myths, they may be seen as "better than," the "same as," or "less than" this benchmark. Recent and exceptional mythic accomplishments--especially those against the odds--may provide a strong sense of group transcendence. Long-term, more ordinary mythic accomplishment, for example, the steady labor of Eastern Europeans, seem to liken the group to native-born whites.[17] What stands out in the case of those groups Ogbu calls "subordinate minorities" is the lack of a clear incorporative myth shared both inside and outside the minority and the continuation of competing myths of exclusion. It is not to be expected that this situation will resolve itself gradually without some circumstantial "evidence" of mythic proportions.

At one level these myths of national membership are very general and change only crescively. Yet they do change, and for studies of school desegregation they provide the most obvious source of the cultural set that gets translated into a psychological set where minority behavior is selectively singled out for mutual characterization. These same folk beliefs also figure into the selection and evaluation of what we mean by equal-status relations. Much of the research on equal-status relations is marred by the assumption that socioeconomic background is the perceived marker of status, rather than examining this problem from the vantage point of the cultural filters operating between minority groups.

This incorporative process bears some resemblance to what Glazer and Moynihan (1963) refer to as the "group process," i.e., a queue of primorial groups whose movement toward fuller membership is largely incremental but occasionally punctuated with dramatic instances of recognized "national service." But it differs in the relative importance of the role played by the core solidarity in defining and recognizing "national service."

IMPLEMENTATION OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Although these incorportive myths seldom change rapidly, it appears to me that in the United States they have been increasingly formulated within a more voluntaristic vocabulary. That is, group differences are discussed as the outcome of collective experiences rather than as ineffable essences or heritable genes. In some ways this may be a product of the enormous publicity given debates over school desegregation and the disadvantage this works against those who express their prejudgment in a brute and simplistic manner.

Debates over school desegregation in Charlotte, Boston, Los Angeles, or Chicago are national events which exercise all the manipulative powers of the mass media. The result is not only a highly politicized issue, but a decision-making process in which "private deals" are difficult. Indeed any hint of such deals seems simply to increase the publicity. The frequent outcome then seems to be a rather legalistic and mechanical approach. In the South such an approach might work because large consolidated districts reduced the threat to whites. For the same reason desegregation could be readily extended by state boards of education to many small towns where minorities constituted a low proportion of the population. In large cities or communities with an increasing minority population, there has been strong resistance and progressive reliance on court orders. The accomplishment in the South and smaller communities should not be belittled, but it would appear that further efforts at school desegregation will be tried where they are least likely to succeed:[18] in districts already heavily segregated, in districts with an increasing minority population, and in districts where invasion and succession have already stiffened racial attitudes. For court action to take place violations must precede it, and this calls for substantial backtracking rather than simply the avoidance of further segregation.

I know of no ethnographic effort directly aimed to link court action and its specific consequences.[19] Two outcomes, however, seem to be frequently reported. First, community leaders take no action lest their efforts be interpreted as an admission of past, intentional segregation. Second, because the courts (or state boards of education) are seen as external to the community, opposition to court-ordered desegregation is easy to arouse although not necessarily that easy to organize and control. Partly this seems to be due to the fragmentation (and invisibility) of local leaders. But it is also difficult to get someone to sponsor openly what is sure to be seen as the cause of bigotry. The dynamics of the situation, however, seem very difficult to anticipate. The Charlotte case is particularly interesting because it moved from organizations primarily opposed to integration to organizations aimed to mollify the consequences of desegregation (Barros, 1973). Both causes were an occasion for the emergence of new leaders rather than the arousal of those already in office. One suspects that considerable difference may exist among communities in their civic culture and capacity to manage local conflict. The relative lack of initiative shown by small communities may arise because of a false sense of their own inadequacy or the hopelessness of avoiding court or state action. Bidwell (personal communication) tells me that two communities in Michigan completely preempted court action by initiating their own programs. Both were characterized by a unified leadership unlikely to be challenged in electoral politics.

Since the courts provide such a convenient external enemy, debate outside the South seems especially prolonged (Orfield, 1981) and generalizes to other issues: who will share the burdens of busing, the allocation of school jobs, the teaching of English as a second language, etc. Secondary gains or losses may come to overshadow the basic issue (Berry, 1979). Despite all these obstacles, however, there is some evidence that a special kind of civic culture--one composed of groups with national linkages and a commitment to cosmopolitan values--can intercede to reduce conflict (Damerell, 1968; Goodwin, 1979). Turf-bound communities even when well organized, seem to have only a capacity for resistance (Suttles, 1972). It would appear that it is only in these more cosmopolitan civic cultures that minority and majority have some common history of cooperation and mutual trust. The more hierarchial churches play a role here, but often they are secondary to groups like the League of Women Voters or independent voter associations.

When such a well-publicized conflict precedes school desegregation, one cannot help believing that it penetrates into the school-age population, but we know very little about this. Ogbu's study reports that some of the young people he talked to were politicized, as does the study by Sullivan (1979). However, there is very little research on school-age populations which takes them as people who watch television or occasionally read the newspapers. Instead most researchers seem to assume that students are only carriers of parental beliefs.[20] This seems especially implausible in the case of some minority-group students who have ambivalent and difficult relations with their parents.

I recall that in 1961 black students in a high school on Chicago's West Side took to the streets protesting the school administration much to the surprise and alarm of their parents. Later--after Martin Luther King came to town--some of their parents joined them, but frequently the students referred to adults collectively as "handkerchief heads." Some blacks have pressed upon me the view that all this has changed and maybe it has to some extent. Still I think that ethnographers must take the continuity between parent-child attitudes as problematic especially in those populations where parental emphasis on sex and age segregation competes with wider notions of early, more equalitarian and voluntaristic relations.

Even in the North there are exceptions to prolonged conflict and some communities do take the initiative without court prodding. Alongside a more cosmopolitan civic culture, other community characteristics seem to contribute to this outcome: a liberal activist tradition often sponsored by a Jewish population or a local university, a relatively small black population, and considerable distance from the main wave of minority invasion. The sheer size and newsworthiness of large cities probably reduces the ability of local groups to take similar action. Nonetheless Hyde Park, a local community in Chicago, was able to desegregate some of its schools in the late 1950's despite general inactivity elsewhere (Ross and Dentler, 1961). The institutional strength of the University of Chicago and its community support were critical in maintaining white enrollment. Here as in other instances, local initiative at school desegregation was aimed more at preserving a stable desegregated community than at simply complying with the law. Ironically city-wide desegregation plans may especially imperil these more desegregated communities by reducing their capacity to hold white residents. Goodwin's (1979) study suggests that despite its proximity to an expanding ghetto, Oak Park was able to desegregate its schools in a more general effort to maintain a balanced community. That is, once the alternative is between a balanced community and complete succession, white residents may yield rather easily to school desegregation. Within large cities, like Chicago, however, the general inability to control the pace of residential succession seems to undermine people's confidence in school desegregation (Molotch, 1972).

Based on Kornblum's (1974) study it appears that a common pattern in heavily industrialized communities is the residential dispersion of black workers as compared to whites. Thus, even a relatively liberal union like the United Steel Workers is unable to help manage school desegregation. Something rather different is apparent in the industrial community of Gary where a black mayor has been able to accomplish rather limited school desegregation while avoiding criticism from blacks or court action.

Whether locally managed or court-ordered, one is struck by the tenuousness of any particular pattern of school desegregation. Because of the ambiguity left by political inactivity, new inequalities will continue to be discovered and in fact develop, as in the South where considerable resegregation is taking place. Often changing circumstances will find leaders locked into publicly declared positions that now preclude compromise. The situation may be especially complicated where teacher unionization vastly expands the issues, as in the Oceanhill Brownsville community of New York (Cole, 1969). Activist leaders in favor of desegregation may feel caught between the belief that if they do nothing resegregation will take place, while activism itself may deprive them of control over the process of desegregation. Studies of resegregation promise to be especially revealing not only because they present interesting difficulties to the courts but because they allow the ethnographer to make a comparative study out of what appears to be a case study.

Throughout local debates over school segregation one is impressed with the extent to which the findings or at least the ideas of sociologists are used to establish the standards by which school desegreation is evaluated. As Crain (personal communication) points out, this may not extend to the courts. But educational achievement and attainment seem to remain the key measures for popular and political evaluation. As Coleman himself points out, this is perilous since his own findings document the very modest contributions to achievement made by schooling or desegregation. Wilson (1979) has shown that while desegregated schools may contribute little to educational achievement, they probably do contribute to black academic attainment, that is, blacks stay in desegregated schools longer. More recently, Crain (forthcoming) has demonstrated a small but persistent gain in test achievement for minorities in desegregated schools. Still one is impressed with the tenuousness of the equal protection argument given the ongoing findings of sociologists.

THE RESPONSE OF SCHOOL STAFF

There has been a long-term trend toward administrative centralization and bureaucratization in American schools, especially those in big cities (Street, 1969). In part this grows out of post-Sputnik, but it also grows out of earlier reforms aimed at reducing political patronage and a vague claim for the advantages of scale. The net result, however, seems to have been to insulate schools from community influence while at the same time reducing teacher autonomy and claims to professionalism (Street, 1969; Cole, 1969). Accordingly school boards and administrators are often unprepared to respond to either the local community or the courts in desegregation cases. Often they see their power directly challenged or become stalemated because they reflect irreconcilable groups in the community (Crain, 1966). Administrators may even fear a return to older patterns of patronage, especially when public debate extends to community control over such issues as teacher selection. Despite reforms aimed at decentralization, Street's (1969) view is that they usually suffer "death by incorporation," that is, they exist in memos and charts but practice remains the same. Mayer's (1969) personal account of his experiences in the effort to decentralize some of New York's school districts presents this kind of bureaucratic intractability in all its gory detail.

using observed choices rather than self-reports or questionnaires. The general finding seems to be that students manage to replicate some of the segregation existing in the wider community (Schofield and Sagar, 1979; Clement et al., 1979). Specially contrived efforts to broaden interracial contacts seem to have some modest positive effects; the absence of such efforts seems to have no effects or slightly negative ones. Schofield and Sagar (1979) provide evidence that undirected classroom behavior tends to confirm stereotypes and worsen interracial relations. In all these accounts one suspects that an important ingredient is the extent to which desegregation is regarded as an irreversible and accomplished fact. Once firmly in place, it is probably easier for both minority and majority students to accommodate themselves to one another. Indeed, over time most do seem to adopt a pattern of mutual tolerance and even find friends in the other group (Crain, forthcoming). But it is very difficult to evaluate this sort of classroom experience without some appeal to social philosophy. That is, should the question be whether or not we expect instant acceptance or go along to suffer through a difficult experience rather than face something yet worse down the road? Irresolution itself on this point may be one of the prime contributors to a reluctance all round to make the best of desegregation.

THE WIDER COMMUNITY

The most obvious way in which the community imposes itself upon schools is simply by its composition and economic structure. Studies as separated in time as those by Lewis (1964) and Ogbu (1974) show that smaller cities with a limited range of economic activities tend to have an entrenched, conservative elite that closely guards access to occupational mobility. Elites in these smaller places seem to think of the job market as a fixed pool where every job going to minorities is lost to the majority. Both unions and employers seem to "gang up" to insure that groups stand in their accustomed queue leading from school to place of work. A disproportionate increase in minority population probably stiffens this kind of thinking even when it is expressed in the more tempered vocabulary of well-educated people (Glazer and Moynihan, 1963). The situation should be at least somewhat different in large metropolitan areas which have a much more dynamic labor force as well as a more differentiated minority population. In Atlanta, New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles, for instance, the labor force is not so dominated by a single industry, and some members of minority groups have been able to constitute elites of their own. Dual labor markets are probably less sharply drawn, and one sees an increasing presence of minorities in local political life. Frequently there is a limited but cosmopolitan nexus within which majority and minority experience equal-status relations, e.g., universities, a few integrated communities, a few organizations like the Civil Liberties Union, and an increasing number of politically appointed *ad hoc* study groups. The dependency of minority elites may still be apparent, but the barriers to interracial relations are not so sharply drawn and some elites may even hope that the improvement in human capital will benefit everyone. These larger cities also have the basis for a much more differentiated school system. Most also have growing private school systems which are only beginning to be studied by quantitative researchers (Coleman, 1981).

Of course, the most obvious reason for focusing research on the larger cities is that this is where most of the minority population is. But there are even more compelling reasons in my view. First, major cities still seem to set the pattern for the rest of the country, despite the movement of population to the suburbs or exurbs. Second, our major cities are undergoing an in-movement of new immigrants that has not been matched since the 1870's. In most of these cities there is no longer any identifiable "white majority." The Hispanic population is extremely diverse (Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Salvadorian, Dominican), and the black population is becoming increasingly so with a variety of immigrants from the Caribbean. On the one hand, these populations present novel problems to school desegregation simply because the courts have nothing to work with but minorities. On the other hand, this wide mixture is especially interesting because it creates a sort of continuum of color and racial identity which in some ways resembles the one created earlier among Europeans. The racial identity of many of these people is problematic and one hears from one's students in the field references to all sorts of gradations that no longer seem to coincide with country of origin. Such a process of partial assimilation, however, depends upon a core solidarity with sufficient numerical, political, and moral strength to set the standards by which incremental gains are made. Massive in-migration into our larger cities, like that occurring during the last decade, could mean that assimilation or acculturation loses its direction, leaving us without a dominant mainstream. Then the ethnographic task will invite comparisons as distant as the Romonov Empire and the Islamic Millet system.

THE LOCAL NEIGHBORHOOD

The local neighborhood and the school have usually been linked in two ways. First, the neighborhood has been closely identified with the school as a sort of primal basis for residential cohesion and separateness (Perry and Williams, 1931). Indeed some researchers take the local attendance area as a surrogate measure of neighborhood, assuming that student contacts and parental loyalties converge to make it a little area of common use and patriotism. Second, the school is seen as linked to the local neighborhood by the competing demands that peer groups put on students. Where the school is thought to support scholastic performance, the neighborhood is usually thought to retard it.

The extent to which local communites form strong loyalties to their schools is far more problematic than this suggests. In large measure it seems to depend upon how nearly local community organization itself can establish more or less equalitarian relations with the education bureaucracy. Elsewhere I have argued that one can view neighborhood organizations in the United States as the cumulative outcome of a series of national social movements, some of them dating back to the Colonial Period (Suttles, 1979). Many of our older, white, inner-city areas have "layers" of community organization which resemble strata in an archeological dig: the self-help organizations of the Reform Period, underlying ethnic associations formed between the two world wars, followed by the movement toward confederations after World War Two, and succeeded by the influence of the militant Industrial Areas Foundation or self-help groups encouraged by the War on Poverty. In some neighborhoods these organizational forms seem to have persisted despite almost total population change, especially where the Catholic Church has played a hand in their survival (Harris, 1980). Of course, most local neighborhoods do not date back to these early periods of community organizing and a recent report by Bursik and Webb (1982) suggests that the change from white to black did not allow for such a transition, either because of the rapidity of succession or because of the mutual isolation of black and white. Thus, many of the community organizations in black and Hispanic areas have a fairly recent origin, some of them adopting a militant stance associated with the Industrial Areas Foundation, others operating primarily as self-help groups. Generally, groups embracing the ideology of the Industrial Areas Foundation have taken the local school as central to their mission, with local control rather than desegregation being the chief aim. One of the best publicized of these groups is The Woodlawn Organization, and there is clear evidence that it has come to include the local school as part of its own "turf" (Melber, 1974).

Local self-help groups, such as the ones described by Ogbu, seem much more likely to become trapped in the ceremonialism of parent-teacher relations, where the former can do little more than "be cooperative." These groups resemble other community groups formed expressly to mollify conflict during the early stages of school desegregation (Barros, 1973; Berry, 1979). When they are biracial groups, they do seem able to control emerging conflict, but apparently they are called on only when there is trouble. As Lortie (1975) implies, this is likely always to be the case where school staff can set the agenda. In any event such groups are usually so preoccupied with their maintenance within a delimited neighborhood that a concern with school desegregation would uproot them by dispersing their activities over a wider area. The few private or alternative schools emerging in minority neighborhoods do not seem to be accompanied by strong relations to local organizations, but the staff and students may be so self-selected that some sort of diffuse bond exists between parents and the school (Wagner, 1977). The dramatic accomplishments and leadership attributed to Marva Collins may rest on this general sense of a shared mission rather than direct parental or community involvement. Both her supporters and critics seem to interact primarily through the mass media.

The best general treatment of classroom behavior is Jackson's (1968) Life in Classrooms. In my own observations on classrooms, I have found it difficult to go beyond Jackson without getting out of the classroom. To be sure there was the visible if unintentional mutual selection between teachers and students to produce "tracks" (often of only one or two students). As well there were the usual association choices within racial and socioeconomic groups. The apprehension and caution that these groups employed in their approach to one another was evident. But in many ways it seems misleading to think of the classroom as having its own sharply defined sociometric structure and pattern of segregation. Often relations seem to be highly fluid and individuated. Of course individuals have their best friends, and there are cliques and isolates. But generally these relations are a matter of degree and they shade off into a gray area which is not well indicated by sociometric studies. In my own interviews and some others (Cottle, 1976), the classroom itself was not the problematic focus of group relations. Students in the classroom knew each other and had made some accommodation to one another. It was outside the classroom, in the hallways, on the playground or at the time school let out, that students began to refer to one another as representatives of groups and to express genuine fears of conflict.

Schofield (1978) is certainly right that studies of classroom contacts need more theoretical guidance, but one wonders if either equal-status or contact theory is not too primitive an approach. Student relations seem so heavily determined outside the classroom that a more institutional approach may be helpful, particularly one that takes into account how organizations set up situations which seem almost calculated to juxtapose minority and majority students where they are least matched in their abilities. The school itself seems most likely to make its initial test one of academic abilities where minorities may do poorest, while recreation agencies may achieve the opposite with competitive sports (Collins, 1979). There is some evidence that blacks and whites are most evenly matched at communication and dramatic performances (Scherer and Slawsky, 1979; Sullivan, 1979). Normative conditions which facilitate or obstruct contact in these various activities would seem to be the most obvious objects of attention for the ethnographer.

Youth culture, especially that of the ghetto, is widely pointed to as one of the main obstacles to a more serious and instrumentatl approach to education (Anderson, 1979; Ogbu, 1974). Earlier interpretations emphasizing a culture of poverty, however, have been replaced by one emphasizing a widespread awareness of job ceilings. Undoubtedly the shared perception of job ceilings is important, but it raises the question of how some groups do and some do not overcome peer pressures and the job ceiling. In my own work in Chicago, I could detect only slight differences between the youth cultures of blacks, Mexican-Americans, Pureto Ricans, and Italians, although the Italians clearly has better job prospects (Suttles, 1968). One clue which may throw some light on this is the reestablishment of dominance by the Italian adult males. The young boys had their gangs, but so did the adults. Peer-group development among the adult males was more than a match for that among the young boys. This was not the case among blacks on Chicago's West Side in the 1960's, but I am told that it is increasingly the case both there and on the South Side, where older youth gangs have reached maturity and by trying to control the "gray market" may be helping to confine the "black market" of youth violence. This, of course, does not mean that adult dominance has any direct pedagogic value, but it may mean that the youth culture is sufficiently contained so that they do not "burn their bridges" to school before they attempt to enter the job market.

Still one doubts the general efficacy of adult dominance in doing much beyond keeping youngsters in school a bit longer. One of the things that strikes me about practically all the accounts I have read of contemporary ghetto life is the absence of something like the "college boys" described by Whyte (1943). I found no evidence of a similar group in an Italian community in the 1960's although some individuals did go to college. Possibly the depression created greater socioeconomic diversity during the time Whyte did his work, but most studies of black areas do show considerable diversity of educational background. With the emergence of accessible community colleges and the increase of blacks enrolling in these institutions, some kind of college-bound youth culture with its own group life may develop in the ghetto. Certainly the emergence of a more differentiated peer culture among blacks would be an important factor in helping to overcome the sort of self-defeat that Anderson (1979) describes.

FAMILY NETWORKS

Despite extensive quantitative studies of schooling and family background (Coleman et al., 1966; Heyns, 1978), certain aspects of family life among low-income minority groups remain problematic. For a while the "culture of pverty" and matrifocal family drew widespread attention (Lewis, 1966; Miller, 1958). But that seems to have lapsed because of an inability to draw close links across income, minority membership, family type, and occupational or school performance.

Several intriguing studies are now emerging which suggest a rather different approach (Stack, 1974; Hannerz, 1969; Miller, 1982), at least to black family structure. What seems to be revealed in these studies is that separate families are embedded in a network of others which vary considerably in their socio-economic standing, ranging from totally dependent to self-supporting. The core of this network is a group of women who are able to improve somewhat their standard of living and overcome short-term emergencies by pooling some of their resources. This network is surrounded by dependent children and a number of adult males, both kin and non-kin. Some of these males may have stable employment and persistent relations with others in the network, but as a group they are less able to pool resources than are the women. There is some turnover among the adult males; children develop a primary dependency on one or more of the adult women and, sometimes, on some male kin.

Very frequently these family networks are linked to yet another network composed largely of unrelated individuals periodically involved in street hustling. Sometimes these linkages are through one or more of the peripheral males in the first network but occasionally through one of the core female members or one of the older children. The social proximity of street hustling and its members appear to bring about a number of reactions and consequences. First, some of the core female members adopt an almost compulsive effort to protect their children from contact with street life. Children are closely confined to the home, cross-sexual relations are proscribed, and great deference is demanded by adults. All these rules may be articulated in a religious vocabulary which is especially rigid. Given the visible proximity and temptations of street life, it is extremely difficult to enforce these normative restrictions, and they may lead to an early deterioration of the relation between children and some of the adults. This promotes a strong desire for early independence and the establishment of a separate household. The frequent failure to impose this rigid normative order may also help explain a second pattern where an earlier defeat leads adults to abandon further efforts to supervise their younger children.

The diverse membership and linkage between these networks would seem to imply that the moral climate of any particular nuclear family is considerably "diluted" as adult discipline and example take on a variety of normative forms. This "averaging effect" would create a great deal of room for the kind of "drift" that Matza (1964) describes for delinquent boys. For studies of schooling it would suggest that particular nuclear-family traditions of improving education are especially hard to carry over between generations. In turn, it is probably also difficult for adults to establish a bounded group-life that assigns exceptional importance to academic accomplishment: that could only seem like "snobbery." There are some obvious parallels here between the absence of a domestic circle that emphasizes academic achievement and a similar omission among college-bound youth in the ghetto.

Reports of these family networks are almost entirely confined to blacks.[22] Since the decisive condition seem to be the relatively stable income of women as compared to that of men, this may reflect a true concentration. Opportunities for stable (not high) income have usually been less favorable for black males than for females especially if one includes welfare payments. Still, the extent and concentration of these networks is an open question.

THE AGENDA FOR ETHNOGRAPHY

In approaching the ethnography of school desegregation I have found it necessary to examine a wide range of literature, only a little of it completed by ethnographers. The aim has been to map out a hierarchy of topical areas and variables which would provide a more cumulative and comparative execution of ethnographic studies not only of school desegregation but of the general process of status negotiation among primordial groups. At the top of this hierarchy is the cultural level, including our founding myths of national membership. This level focuses on those selective elements of group history and identity which are incorporated in our folk beliefs about group differences. It extends as well to the ceremonial embodiments of these beliefs (Thanksgiving, Fourth of July, etc.) and popular taxonomies for distinguishing among groups. It recognizes that this cultural level is not static but a social construction that is in the process of change as new events become eligible for mythic enlargement--not just things that have happened but things that are regarded as expectable and archetypical. These changes imply that one should find variants of this founding myth with the most likely division occurring between "fundametnalists" who adhere to a restrictive interpretation and "revisionists" who adopt a more inclusive interpretation. This debate does not automatically resolve itself in favor of the more inclusive variant, but depends on the conditions indicated in the remainder of this hierarchy (see Appendix).

Probably the most important of these conditions is the relative threat posed by a minority. A small group poses very little threat; a large one poses much more adjustment in terms of perceived loss of jobs, housing, and numerical superiority in a range of institutions including the school.[23] For most Americans the relevant unit is probably their own jurisdictional community within which they share such collective goods as education. Sometimes the threat is more diffuse, as when the possible loss of public sector jobs alarms suburbanites as well as central-city dwellers. Countless studies of invasion and succession document this process and provide at least an initial approach to this problem.

The heightening of group consciousness and efforts at resegregation do not seem to leave the cultural level unchanged. Forcing the debate into the open, into a more public arena, does seem to give the revisionists some advantage since the expression of brute, simplistic prejudice tends to discredit the fundamentalists. Moreover, the threat posed by a rapidly increasing minority group may make the distinction among previous competitors seem trivial and lead to the acceptance of new myths of incorporation.

However, the extent to which revisionists hold the edge does seem to depend very much upon how public the debate is; a quiet process of succession or simply rioting probably leaves things much as they were. Generally school desegregation has been accompanied by widespread, often national, debate. In large part this is because of the prevalence of court-ordered school desegregation accompanied by irresolute political leadership, the former assuring that it will be seen as coercive, the latter fueling hopes for resistance. For this reason there may have been more change at the cultural level than at some of the subsequent levels. That is, people are willing to entertain new definitions of one another, but the structural conditions (e.g., population balance) for acting on them are not available. Caplow (1982) and his associates comment that amid the pervasive stability revealed in their study of Middletown, the increase of tolerance is the most exceptional. This increase in tolerance does not seem traceable to any local structural condition but to local participation in a national debate.

There are many variations at the level of the wider community, its political leadership, and the school administration. Where local authorities have actually taken the initiative, they seem to have enjoyed a good deal of freedom in how they desegregated their schools. Indeed some may have practically avoided it altogether, while others may have accomplished results well worth publicizing. Court and federally-ordered school desegregation seems to result in a more random mixture of students or one that places a particular hardship on specific schools. People may become more sophisticated about how they talk about minority groups--and this should not be discounted--but the coercive character of court-ordered desegregation makes it especially difficult to mobilize public support. Even in the county-wide school districts of the South, desegregated schools may have little staying power as private schools and metropolitanization reduce the white student enrollment.

Local political and administrative leadership obviously can be important here, and one might expect there to be a growing number of school administrators who have had enough experience with desegregated schools to have some confidence in their management. Frequently, however they will find themselves paired with political leaders who are opposed to taking any action. The way in which administrative and political leaders line up is an obvious avenue of investigation.

The wider community also figures into this hierarchy in such obvious ways as its population composition, minority division of labor, the cosmopolitanism of group life, and the presence of visible minority leadership. The larger of our cities continue to be important here if only because they are the most newsworthy. The persistence of in-migration to these cities will surely change the context of school desegregation, possibly making it almost entirely a "black issue" as diverse other minorities seek alternative avenues of acculturation or try avoid it altogether.

The school itself represents a focus of extensive past research, so much so that the opportunity to examine variations around the typical public school now exists. Alternative schools, schools with special programs, and even private schools can be examined from the perspective of a reasonably well established baseline. The local community and its interface with the school take on additional importance because school desegregation is so often accompanied by a public outcry over over the "loss of community," such an outcry that one wonders if the consequences are not almost the reverse of those claimed. The linkage of local groups to more cosmopolitan centers, the character of youth cultures, and the apprehension of personal abuse would seem to bear on this issue.

Studies of minority family and kinship structure have probably been too narrowly focused on the nuclear family to the neglect of kin and non-kin networks with their competing normative frameworks. Undoubtedly there are minority populations in which the nuclear family is a relatively self-contained unit that can transmit most of its norms to its children. Indeed some of these families may be grouped in networks where the accomplishments of children can receive recognition as a continuation of "characteristic achievement." But we must be prepared as well to find very open-ended networks that intersect diverse moral worlds and leave their younger members to "drift" between alternatives.

This attempt to develop such a broad conceptual framework has two aims for ethnographers. First, it provides a mapping within which the ethnographer can position his study and relate it to the wider literature. Ethnographic studies are especially limited in their range of immediate observation. They can become comparative only by drawing upon a wider literature and placing it alongside their own findings in a scheme of plausible theoretical relations. The reader may not want to draw upon this particular framework, but he will have to devise something like it if his study is to be more than an isolated "case study."

Second, this kind of mapping out of levels and dimensions of variation provides us with a reasoned judgment about where ethographic effort is most appropriate and strategic. My reading of the literature leads me to the following injunctions. Ethnographic studies are probably best directed to that range of variation that lies to either side of the mainstream of past studies of school desegregation. The exploratory advantages of ethnographic studies are well recognized, but it also appears that a replication of past studies of school desegregation, even if done in far greater depth, is not going to uncover much more. As St. John (1981) points out, there is a great deal of continuity in these findings and the general need is to examine a wider range of variations.

Also, the cultural, community, and family levels seem the most opportune for ethnographic exploration. The cultural level is generally something that ethographers are attuned to and trained to recognize. But more importantly, its expression in ceremonies, in folk taxonomies, in popular culture, in fashions, and in fads is highly situated. Of course there is a documentary repository for much of this material, but it is at ground level that we can see how culture comes into use--almost always selectively--rather than being simply acted out in stereotypic form. People make use of their culture, they don't just obey it. A knowledge of our founding myths of national memberships may not tell us much about school desegregation in the short run, but it is vital for an understanding of minority relations over the long run. This is not as some would claim, a radical subjectivist review, for like Geertz (1973) and Prager (1982) I take culture to be what is "out there" and available to analysis, rather than something buried in peoples' private thoughts.

The level of threat of racial change, the locus for the initiative of school desegregation, compositional effects, and the stance of political leadership will usually enter ethnographic studies as data rather than as objects of intense investigation. This is usually because the ethnographer cannot spread across enough research sites to find much meaningful variation. Team efforts are possible, but they represent an enormous investment in time and a prodigious effort for more than one investigator to keep abreast of each other's work. But the simplest reason these issues are not of high priority to the ethnographer is that most are susceptible to elaborate quantitative analysis. This would seem to be especially so for assessing compositional effects or the comparative analysis of several cities.

The school and its administration represent a marginal case for the ethnographer. There is always something to be learned from the observation of classrooms, the use of students and staff as informants and the examination of curricular material. But at some point, decisive examination of most of the issues that emerge at this level requires a fair degree of sampling and quantitative measurement (e.g., measures of achievement, sociability, resource input, teacher skills, etc.). This is already a reasonably well established research tradition among social psychologists, and if ethnographers are to engage in it they must certainly master the canons of research that have developed in that subdiscipline.

In any case, the ethnographer who begins work within the schoolhouse walls is likely soon to be drawn beyond them. The holistic aims of ethnography make the weakness of the school's boundaries something easy to cross, and it will be difficult to avoid the youth culture that exists both inside and outside the school, the actions of community groups, political decisions in the wider community, and a persistent dialogue about problem families and problem groups. It is at this level that ethnographers are in their natural milieu, sorting between what informants say and what can be observed, juxtaposing voiced norms with situated action, tracing out a series of events to see if they are closely linked, comparing images with observations. Such a procedure is "clinical" in its initial steps, only gradually drawing out the boundaries that circumscribe what is to be investigated. Its direction is informed by opportunism--stumbling upon something obviously important--and by an awareness of investigative priorities.

The interface between the school, the local community, and its constituent parts is an appropriate ethnographic site because so much of what is interesting about it is poorly indexed for the purposes of more quantitative research: the importance of a situated action, the presence of an underlife that few know about in its totality, and the emergence of local and particular traditions, images, understandings and deals. All this can eventually be placed in a comparative framework. Indeed I have attempted to do so. But first it must be disinterred by the ethnographer.

Appendix

INSTITUTIONAL LEVELS AND PRIORITIES FOR ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH

This appendix makes no effort to be exhaustive but aims to provide a comparative framework within which ethnographic studies can be placed. Each institutional level is indicated along the left-hand margin. The center heading indicates the most general objects of research, followed by a series of more concrete examples. Two dimensions are given for each level to indicate important ranges of variation. The following hypotheses illustrate both the linkage between levels and relationships within each level. Relevant readings are indicated on the right.

INSTITUTIONAL LEVEL	OBJECTS OF RESEARCH	READINGS
Culture	Folk Beliefs (e.g., explanations of groups character)	Alexander (1980)
	Slogans of typification (e.g., the Cuban "economic miracle")	
	Ceremonies (e.g., St. Patrick's Day parade)	
	Taxonomies (e.g., slang terms of ethnic groups)	Ogbu (1974)

Fundamentalist-----------Public Opinion----Revisionist acceptance of new versions of group differences
Adherence to fixed version of group histories

Essentialist-------------Public Rhetoric---Voluntaristic vocabulary of motives
explanations of group differences

Hypothesis 1: Mythic enlargement of the historic accomplishments of one group occurs when (1) they are favorably compared to another negotiating for incorporation, and (2) the accomplishments of that group are used to justify the incorporative claims of another.

Hypothesis 2: Myths of incorporation are constituted by a set of binary distinctions in which the core solidarity is the benchmark against which other groups are compared.

INSTITUTIONAL LEVEL	OBJECTS OF RESEARCH	READINGS
Demographic-Ecological	Population ratios (e.g., percent black)	Lieberson (1980)
	Labor force (e.g., one industry town)	Ogbu (1974)
	Housing (e.g., block-by-block succession)	

Parochial------------------Civic Culture---------------Cosmopolitan

Mutual-------------------Level of conflict-------------Accommodation
Hostility

Hypothesis 1: The more nearly people accept essentialist explanations of group differences, the higher the threat they will assign to an increase in minority population.

Hypotheses 2: The more diversified the economic base of a community, the more likely it is to have a cosmopolitan civic culture.

INSTITUTIONAL LEVEL	OBJECTS OF RESEARCH	READINGS
Political-Administrative	Party leadership (e.g., desegregation a partisan issue)	Crain (1968)
	Courts (e.g., level of initiative in desegregation)	
	Administration (e.g., board of education)	

Avoidable-------------------Perception of----------------Inevitable
desegregation

External--------------------Origin of-------------------Local
desegregation
plan

Hypothesis 1: The more public the debate over desegregation, the more likely parties to that debate will adopt a voluntaristic vocabulary of motives to describe group differences.

Hypothesis 2: The more divided and irresolute local political leadership, the more likely the general public will see desegregation as avoidable.

INSTITUTIONAL LEVEL	OBJECTS OF RESEARCH	READINGS
School	Programs to accommodate desegregation	Schofield and Sagar (1979)
	(e.g., efforts to broaden intergroup contacts)	
	School supervision	
	(e.g., extends beyond immediate school grounds)	
	Partnership with community groups	Ogbu (1974) Lortie (1975)
	(e.g., ceremonial only)	

Formal compliance------------------Response to desegregation----------------Innovative compliance

Ceremonial--------------Relation to Community groups----------------Equalitarian

Hypothesis 1: The more coercive administrators see desegregation, the more likely they are to adopt formal compliance.

Hypothesis 2: The more equalitarian the school administration's relationship with community groups, the more likely the school administration is to adopt new innovations.

INSTITUTIONAL LEVEL	OBJECTS OF RESEARCH	READINGS
Community	Community Organization (e.g., property owners associations Adult subcultures (e.g., male tavern groups) Youth subcultures	

Parochial-----------------Orientation of----------------Cosmopolitan
community groups

Street--------------------Orientation of----------------College
youth groups

Hypothesis 1: The more cosmopolitan local community groups, the more likely they are to support innovative compliance on the part of the local schools.

Hypothesis 2: College bound youth who have visible groups will be more influential in providing leadership than those who lack corporate group identities.

INSTITUTIONAL LEVEL	OBJECTS OF RESEARCH	READINGS
Family	Bounded nuclear family (e.g., male dominated family) Network of nuclear families (e.g., extended family) Network of kin and non-kin (e.g., child-parent pairs in a larger network)	

Competing moral orders--------------------Moral order of family or network-------------------Unified moral order

Avoiding trouble---------------------Discipline--------------------Positive injunctions

Hypothesis 1: Street hustling is most able to recruit its members from child-parent pairs in a larger network, including non-kin.

Hypothesis 2: Networks of nuclear families are more able to exercise social control over their children than are isolated families or child-parent pairs in a larger network.

FOOTNOTES

1. I use the term primordial to indicate groups who claim a common origin "in the past." Often this claim is largely fictive and corroborated only by references to similarities of dialect, regional birth, or selected items of appearance or belief. The advantages of such a term is its comprehensiveness, including in one stroke what we often separately call ethnic, religious, regional, or descent groups.

2. Crain (1968) tells us that some Southern political leaders conceded to local school desegregation because they did not want the dispute over it to interfere with regional plans for economic development. The room for "seepage" between the local school and wider community may depend primarily upon the degree to which local leaders can head off opportunists by finding something like local development which creates a unified front among them.

3. Like St. John's (1981), my reading of the literature indicates that social scientists have been so pro-integrationist that they have persistently looked for positive findings. This is not at all inconsistent with the parallel tendency of social scientists to view any positive finding as suspect unless it survives persistent reanalysis and new controls. In a discipline without a strong theoretical paradigm, "debunking" has a strong appeal and causes persistent apprehension.

4. Janowitz suggests that this effort at civic education may have been reasonably effective when it was aimed at immigrant populations who had effectively "burned their bridges" in coming to America. The situation is drastically changed for more recent immigrants who more nearly resemble "commuters" with continuing contact with their place of origin.

5. It would appear from Lieberson's findings that white hostility toward blacks increased across the board as their numbers grew outside the South--in the home market before 1920, in educational opportunity and the job market by 1920.

6. However, it should be noted that the self-classification Ogbu reports for Mexicans is somewhat divergent on this point. Moreover, those whose presence in the country could be considered the most involuntary--that is, those native born or the decendents of native born--seem the most likely to classify themselves as members of the national community.

7. Indeed a host of U.S. groups could be conceived of as subordinate minorities: Tory Nationalists, indentured servants, Appalachians, etc. Incidentally, some relatively isolated and distinctive groups of whites do seem to show patterns of school behavior and achievement not that different from that of blacks and Indians (Ellis, 1980; Gazeway, 1974) while some

blacks, like the West Indians, show high levels of entrepreneural success (Light, 1972). Ellis' study is particularly revealing because it compares two groups of whites with the same early history, of almost identical extraction, but with very different recent careers of economic and educational attainment.

Of course one can always adjust the internal colonialism argument so that educational and occupational failures become the defining characteristic of subordinate groups (i.e., their failure becomes an indication of their subordination), but then it becomes a circular argument.

8. Alexander does not directly address the "mythic" dimensions of the core solidarity. However, it is clear that the central thrust of his paper is to emphasize the social construction of national solidarities in general. Undoubtedly such myths are based on "facts" which is one reason for their plausibility. But the "facts" are selective and incomplete. What stands out in the case of the early New Englanders and Virginians is the extent to which they have remained useful to us in footnoting and accounting for our differences from other societies--usually differences that have either been flattering or at least convenient. Baltzell (1980) explores some of these developments by showing how the traditions of Boston and Philadelphia still inform our political struggles.

9. The emphases given the Puritans in our rememberance of Thanksgiving is revealing because they were apparently outnumbered by the more fun-loving Anglicans in the Plymouth Colony.

10. What is most paradoxical about the national inclusion of the Japanese is that it seems to have been extended to all Orientals. One way of thinking about this is to recognize that the previous exclusion of them had been based on their classification as "Oriental" rather than anything very specific about the Japanese as against, say, the Chinese.

11. One of the tragedies of the unpopular Viet Nam War was the inability of blacks to emerge from it as heroic defenders of the nation state. Indeed the entire history of black military service seems to have been a repeated tragedy of being at the wrong place at the wrong time.

12. In the future it would seem likely that other ethnic groups will have to use the Civil Rights Movement as a way of "footnoting" their claims to status, just as diverse groups now use the statements of Jefferson, Madison, etc., to footnote their claims.

13. Interestingly, Ogbu's findings show that minorities expect no more than ordinary school achievement from native whites.

14. John Dewey, of course, would argue that there must be some linkage between individual and collective aspirations for education to surpass brute memorization.

15. I suppose that something like this is aimed at by those who emphasize "black pride" but this seems to mean singling out some long-standing element of group reputation (athletic achievement) rather than a distinctive and often exceptional element (litigiousness) that contributes to group mobility. Anderson (1979) observes that many young blacks have very high self-expectations but that these expectations are not based on any distinctive collective instrumentality. However, it should be noted that Gurin and Epps (1975) do find among college blacks clear evidence of field choices that are aimed to further the collective goals of blacks.

16. In particular it seems that the reputation of the Jews and overseas Chinese must be regarded as an international accomplishment. Partly this must be due to the fact that they are an international people. But in the case of the Jews, there seems to be a special relationship to Christians; for Jews the prospect of assimilation has usually involved not simply the adoption of another culture, but the judgment of their own as inferior. Thus, their persistence as an ethnic group over such a vast time is more understandable as is certain elements of their identity which seem to be a kind of inversion of the reputation of Christians.

Practically all of the "middleman minorities" who have made exceptional educational or economic accomplishments seem to be (1) groups with a claim to a "high culture" and (2) groups with a written language that allows them some control over their history. As Goody (1968) points out, a written language "objectifies" group memory in a way that oral traditions do not. Bonacich (1973) has attempted an alternative interpretation of these groups, but her model seems unable to explain their initial ambivalence to their host society. My argument is that this ambivalence stems from a "documented" sense of their superiority to the host society.

17. Sowell's (1981) recent book on American ethnic groups is interesting because it takes as literal history these mythic accounts. Certainly there has to be some empirical "evidence" for this sort of mythic construction and, as with all myths, they survive best when they become self-fulfilling prophecies. But there is an interactive element here. Not only must there be some "evidence" of distinctive group ability, it has to be selected out and given credence by others. In this respect Sowell's book is a compilation of those myths that have survived to become "prophecies."

18. As Coleman (1981) points out, the legal approach outside the South is on such weak grounds that it not only invites opposition but cannot very easily draw to it public support of any breadth. Indeed it appears that support for school integration is not that overwhelming within the black community itself (Wilson et. al., 1973).

19. Crain's early studies (1966) deal only with communities undergoing court-ordered desegregation, while Orfield (1981) does not distinguish among Southern cities according to the degree of court initiative.

20. Patchen et. al. (1977) claim to have found a close relationship between student and parental attitudes toward desegregation. But their findings are based on student reports of their parents' attitudes.

21. In fact a recent quantitative study by Jackson (1982) indicates that blacks, whites, and Hispanics are heavily segregated by classroom in "desegregated schools."

22. See Howell (1973) for evidence that similar but more restricted networks prevail among some Southern whites.

23. These perceptions, of course, may be wrong in at least two ways. They may overestimate the size of the group or the consequence of its presence. It would appear that most Americans think in terms of a "zero sum" encounter between minority groups and their competition for resources. But what unit they use and what markers they employ in estimating group numbers is unclear.

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STRUCTURAL CONSTRAINTS IN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

John U. Ogbu

INTRODUCTION

The main objective of this chapter is to explore definitions of the desegregation situation from the participants' point of view and to explore the historical and structural forces that shape them. Although the school desegregation situation can be studied as an observable process--what is going on in the desegregated setting--our understanding of this process will be greatly enhanced if we also take into account participants' epistemologies and the forces that shape those epistemologies.

The desegregation situation as an observable process and as an epistemological phenomenon is a product of particular historical and structural contexts. Many contemporary nation-states are "plural societies" (Wellenchesky and Wallace, 1981), but in only a few of them is the problem of minority educability linked to school segregation and desegregation (Ogbu, forthcoming, b).

This chapter, then, is about some historical and enduring structural forces that impact on participants' definitions of the desegregation situation. Specifically, we will focus on those historical and structural forces shaping the epistemology of black Americans and on how the latter affects their definition of the desegregation situation. For historical and structural reasons, desegregation has different meanings for different groups of participants. And our own research among blacks suggests that their continuing "struggle" for quality education and for equal educational opportunity affects how they define successful school desegregation. Thus, in order to understand why blacks behave as they do in desegregated schools we need to know how they define the desegregated situation and why. The latter requires that we examine the historical and structural forces shaping their definition--shaping, that is, black epistemology, and the influence of the latter on their behavioral responses to desegregation.

As we use it in this chapter, epistemology refers to a people's "folk system" (Bohannon, 1957) or "folk theory" or their model of "social reality" (Berger and Luckmann, 1966) that forms the basis of their participation in and interpretation of social events (Ogbu, 1974).

Research for this paper was supported by the faculty research fund, University of California, Berkeley, and by NIE grant, G-80-0045. The writing of the paper was supported by the Wisconsin Center for Education Research (University of Wisconsin, Marison) which is supported in part by a grant from the National Institute of Education (Grant No. NIE-G-81-009). I am grateful for the support of these institutions. However, opinions expressed in the paper are solely mine.

The rest of the chapter is organized into the following sections. The first presents a conceptual framework, a cultural-ecological framework, for studying desegregation situations from the participants' point of view, and the historical and structural forces that shape them. The section after that will describe those relevant historical and structural forces shaping the epistemology of black Americans, i.e., their notion of how the world, including the school world, functions. The third section takes up briefly how blacks perceive and interpret school segregation and desegregation and how these perceptions and interpretations influence their behavioral responses. The chapter concludes with a brief consideration of some methodological implications for research on the school desegregation situation.

A CULTURAL-ECOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

To appreciate fully the historical and structural influences on the epistemology of participants in school desegregation and the significance of the latter on their definition of desegregation situations, we will first note the importance of formal education in the United States, including how it is perceived by the people. We will use the framework of cultural ecology to do this because this framework allows us not only to explore how participants perceive and behave in desegregated settings but more importantly, to analyze the influences of other societal institutions connected with the educational system on people's perceptions and responses. The inclusion of linkages with other institutions is particularly relevant because schools are an agency which prepares young people to become adult participants in those institutions and, from our point of view, the nature of the connection between those institutions and the schools may affect the ability of the schools to prepare young people adequately for adult life.

We will be specifically concerned with the connection between education and the economic system. The reason is that although educational systems of contemporary industrial societies like the United States are influenced by political systems and ideologies (Cohen, 1975), by religious beliefs and traditions, the most important source of influence appears to be the industrial economy. Education performs many important functions for society, groups and individuals, but the most important function of formal education in contemporary industrial societies appears to be economic. The latter can be seen in the assumptions and behaviors of governments, groups and individuals (Berg, 1969; Dore, 1976). It is, of course, true that as Prager (1982) notes, in the American context "education has been identified as a central mechanism for greater inclusion of divergent groups and has been, therefore, an agent in the democraticization of the American public." He goes on to add that certain (ethnic?) groups have employed education "as a mechanism of leverage--to overcome the prejudice and discrimination that operate in the economic sphere." It appears that from this point of view the economic function of education is subordinate. However, the intended message in Prager's statement cannot be generalized to all American groups. As we will show later, education did not necessarily eliminate prejudice and discrimination for black Americans before the civil rights legislations of the 1960s because of their castelike status or race (see Kahn, 1968; Katzman, 1973; Ogbu, 1978a; Thernstrom, 1973, especially chapter 8). But the point we want to stress is that even though education serves political and other noteworthy functions, and even though some Americans idealize the pursuit of education for its own sake, in reality, schooling in the United States and in similar industrialized societies has usually been structured on the commonsense idea of training in marketable skills and credentialling for labor-market entry and remuneration.

We shall, therefore, argue five points in this section. (a) In the United States and similar societies, the structure and content of schooling are shaped by perceived needs of the economic system, especially the needs of the labor force. (b) Schools, whether they acknowledge it or not, try to satisfy the needs of the industrial economy by teaching future workers and consumers the beliefs, values, and attitudes that support the economic system (as well as other institutions), by teaching them practical skills and personal habits that make the economic system "work," and by credentialling employees for labor market entry and remuneration. (c) The success of the schools in training and credentialling members of a given client population depends partly on the niche occupied by the population in the labor force, their epistemology and their responses to schooling. Schools succeed in "educating" children according to conventional measures of school success if the epistemology and economic realities of their community foster positive responses to schooling. (d) When an alternative economic niche exists for a population, its requirements may either discourage or enhance conventional school success. (e) The inferior economic niche usually occupied by castelike minorities fosters both school training and an epistemology not conducive to conventional school success. The problem of minority educability is intimately related to the issue of school desegregation and the definition of the desegregation situation.

We will represent schematically in Figure 1 our discussion of the above points. Because of limitation of space we will not elaborate on each of the connections shown in Figure 1; and all the points we will discuss are not necessarily shown in the figure. We would like to point out that some parts of our discussion will lack adequate supporting research data because no such research has been done. Our statements in such cases should be taken as "reasonable speculations" or hypotheses and as a challenge to researchers to extend their investigation beyond the conventional scope.

INDUSTRIAL ECONOMY AND EDUCATION

The relationship between industrial economy and education has long been a subject of intense debate between technological functionalists and human capital proponents, on the one hand, and on the other, conflict theorists and proponents of a dual labor market. According to the former, there is more or less a direct relationship between cognitive and technical or practical skills acquired at school and the technical skills required at the workplace for

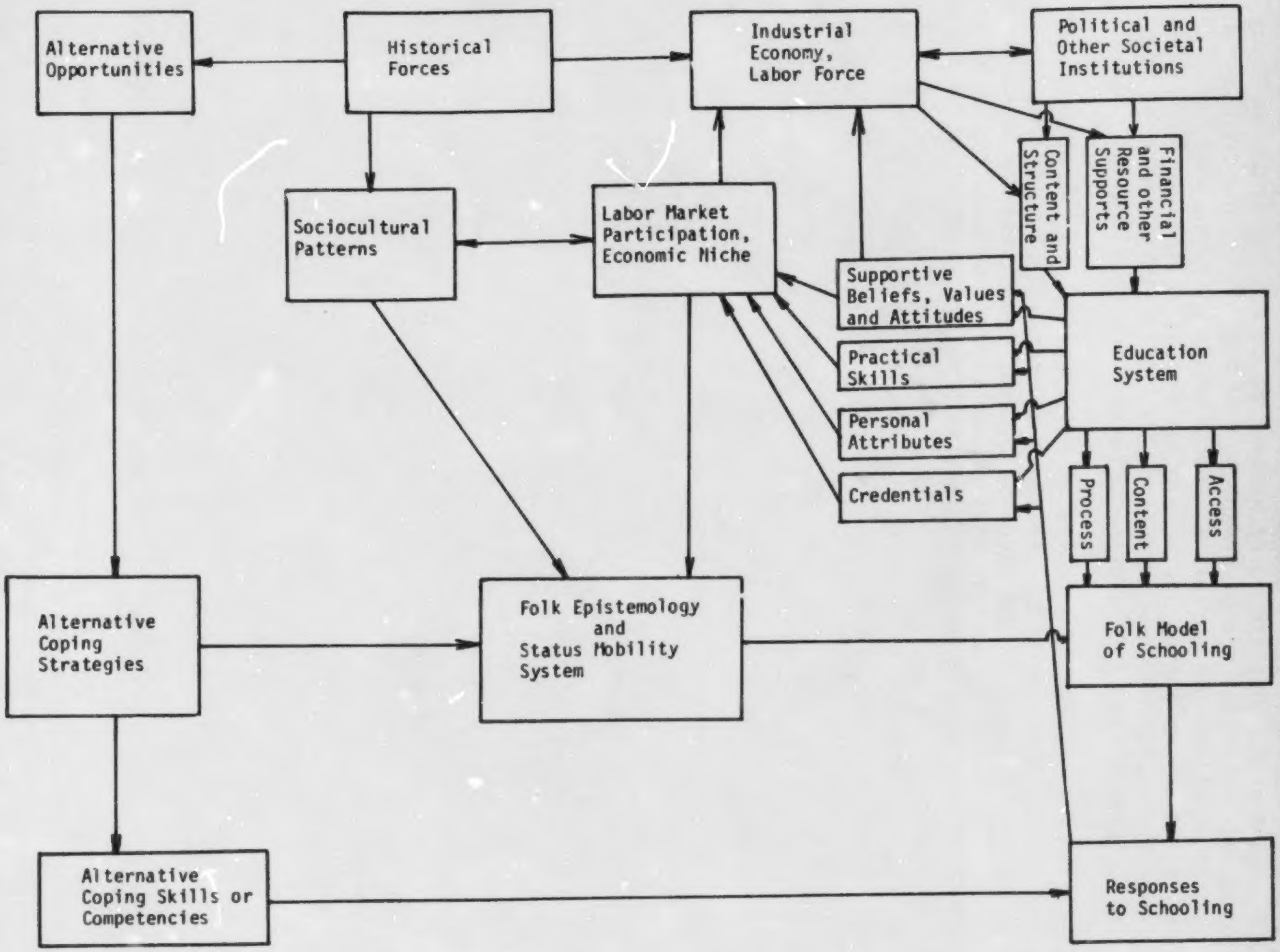
Alternative Opportunities
Historical Forces
Industrial Economy, Labor Force
Political and Other Societal Institutions
Sociocultural Patterns
Labor Market Participation, Economic Niche
Content and Structure
Financial and other Resource Supports
Supportive Beliefs, Values and Attitudes
Practical Skills
Personal Attributes
Credentials
Education System
Process
Content
Access
Alternative Coping Strategies
Folk Epistemology and Status Mobility System
Folk Model of Schooling
Alternative Coping Skills or Competencies
Responses to Schooling

Figure 1: A Cultural-Ecological Framework of Schooling

productivity and renumeration (see Blair, 1971; Dore, 1976; Harrison, 1972; especially Schultz, 1961; and Weisbrod, 1975). The opposing groups find no such relationship; rather, some contend, schools teach children social control--how to conform to the authority relationship of the workplace (Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Spring, 1972). Moreover, they claim that because different segments of the workforce differ in authority relationships, schools socialize children from different social classes differently according to their respective destination in the labor force. In addition, because of racial and gender discrimination (Levin, 1979) or because of dual market (Doeringer and Piore, 1971; Gordon, 1972; Piore, 1975), minorities and women do not necessarily obtain jobs and remuneration commensurate with their education.

The issue of practical skills is important, but for our purposes what appears to be even more important is what the participants (employers, the powers-that-be, and school personnel) believe that future employees need and what they think schools can or should do. We shall, therefore, first try to show how the economic system shapes schooling in the United States for training in marketable skills and for credentialling. Then we shall examine how schools try to accomplish the task of preparing children for recruitment into the labor force.

Industrial Economy's Influence On Structure And Content Of Schooling

There are many episodes in the history of American education which show that the structure of schooling, content of curriculum, and financial and other supports for education are highly dependent on what Americans perceive as essential for the wellbeing of their economy, and what role schools should play through the preparation of future workers. Indeed, changes in present-day schooling under the impact of current technological and economic changes provide a good illustration of the mutual historical relationship between schooling and the economy. We appear to be witnessing a reordering of educational priorities and a reorganization of schooling to meet the needs of a new kind of labor force. In California as in the rest of the nation, the changes in schooling caused by technological and economic trends manifest themselves at precollege as well as college levels.

The competition between the United States, Japan, and other industrialized countries for high-tech economy as well as the growing influence of the computer industry on American economy are at the heart of the new economic forces reshaping American education from kindergarten through graduate school. Within the public schools the economic influences are mediated through pressures from the government as well as industrial leaders. For example, in 1982 the State of California provided extra funds in its educational budget for strengthening math and science curriculum in the public schools. And Franklin (1982) reports that the powerful "1900-member Industrial Education Council of California is seeking ways to attract more students to math and science, to provide training for teachers and ultimately to bring more qualified people into the state's rapidly expanding high-technology industry."

Gordon Weiss, the executive vice-president of the Council emphasized that the Council wants to make parents aware of the fact that future graduates with strong backgrounds in math and science have good employment prospects. Among other things many member industries are running summer internship programs for high school students and for college and public school teachers. Some firms in Santa Clara County go even further to send computers to elementary schools. Industrial leaders are on the whole quite explicit about their objective, namely, to restructure public school and college education to serve industries more effectively. As Weiss put it, it is "not just a question of having kids come out (i.e., graduate) with math and science skills. It's a question of California economy. Will we have people who are functional and can produce?" (San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle, 1982, cited in Franklin, 1982:16; emphasis added). For their part the public schools are responding quickly and positively. In some school districts there is now in place, or a plan to introduce, a computer in almost every classroom from kindergarten through twelfth grade (Oakland Tribune, 1982). Even as I write this page, a school in Minnesota reports that in the midst of its worries about lack of students and funds, its "budget makers have put together a $150,000 arsenal of more than 200 Apple, Commodore and Atari microcomputers for the district's remaining 6,000 students; (and) 20 more computers arrive soon" (Oakland Tribune, 1983b:C3). At a meeting in a local public school in the fall of 1982 the principal informed us (parents) that introducing computers as early as kindergarten is the way to prepare children more effectively for future employment in an economy dominated by computers. In another school the coordinator of our volunteer program told us that some more affluent families in the school district are reinforcing the schools' efforts with home computers. This information was subsequently confirmed in conversations we had with parents at a PTA meeting in another school. But just as more affluent families respond more quickly to pass on the advantage of new education to their children, so also do more affluent schools; and those who do not change to the new order (families and schools) will be "training a whole generation of computer illiterates who are doomed to be a social underclass" (Oakland Tribune, 1983b:C3).

The restructuring of precollege educational priorities by parents, local schools and school districts, and by state authorities in response to current technological and economic changes, is underscored by a national movement for a stronger science and mathematics education to prepare children better for the job market. This movement led to a convocation on science and mathematics in the schools sponsored by the National Academy of Sciences and the National Academy of Engineering in 1982. Both President Reagan's message to the convocation and the "Foreword" to the Report of the convocation (by Frank Press, President of the National Academy of Sciences and Courland Perkins, President of the National Academy of Engineering) noted that the objective of the convocation was not to seek out the best ways to encourage the pursuit of science and mathematical knowledge for its own sake, but to prepare children better for a changing labor force. President Reagan told the delegates, "The problem today in elementary and secondary school science and mathematics education is serious--serious enough to compromise America's future ability to develop and advance our traditional industrial base to compete in international marketplaces. Failure to remain at the industrial forefront results in direct harm to our American economy and standard of living" (NAS and NAE, 1982: 1). And according to Press and Perkins, "The convocation was not concerned primarily with preparing young people to be scientists and engineers. The more difficult and perhaps more serious problem, conferees agreed, is that we appear to be raising a generation of Americans who lack the education to participate in a world of technology--the world in which they will live and work" (NAS and NAE, 1982: 1). The recommendations of the national convocation will eventually feed back into and reinforce the ongoing curriculum and other changes brought about by other movements with similar concerns. Among the latter are those advocating "back to basics," "competency-based education," and the like. It is reported that there are currently several curriculum reform groups around the nation (Sleeter, 1982).

At the college level, student enrollment has fallen dramatically in the social sciences and humanities, fields where graduates face a scarcity of jobs. Complementing students' responses, college authorities shift their resources away from the social sciences and humanities; and in some cases, like at California State University at Sonoma, authorities have gone as far as to dismiss 10 percent of their tenured faculty, because of "steadily declining enrollment and a shift in student interests away from humanities and social sciences and toward more 'applied' fields such as business and nursing" (Los Angeles Times, 1982: 1). One university official summarized the situation at Sonoma by saying, "Not only are kids no longer interested in the humanities and social sciences, but with Hewlett-Packard Industries opening up their new building across the street, we'll need to train people for their jobs" (Franklin, 1982: 17). Thus, simultaneously student enrollments in "applied" fields, especially in those preparing students for employment in business and "high-tech industries" where jobs are plentiful and wages are good, have risen sharply. In consequence, college authorities are shifting their emphasis and resources to those fields. The University of California, for example, has also gone so far as to introduce a different and higher salary scale for professors in business administration and engineering disciplines (University of California Bulletin, 1982a).

Corporations are actively encouraging these changes in the educational priorities of students and colleges, and often they initiate them because of their changing manpower needs. For example, Newsweek (1980b, cited in Franklin, 1982) reports that in 1980 corporations like Bechtel were spending large sums of money for scholarships to train students to meet their manpower needs. Other corporations like General Electric, General Motors, and Boeing contributed about one million dollars toward building a "production center" at one university where students would study techniques and problems of American industries. And Wang Laboratories, among others, were setting up their own graduate schools.

In addition to restructuring the educational priorities of the universities--changing the relative status of academic disciplines, curricula, and faculty--the changing labor force needs are also influencing college education through internship programs. For example, the University of California Bulletin (1982b, cited in Franklin, 1982), has described one such program at the Santa Barbara campus where engineering students worked for industrial firms in the summer and received academic credits for their experience. This enabled the students to complete their degrees in less than normal time and join the industries. A university representative said that besides turning out "qualified" graduates at a faster rate to meet increasing demands from industries, the program provided students with a "unique opportunity to relate the scientific principles which they discussed in their classroom to current problems in industry." In another internship program at the Davis campus, students worked in brokerage firm offices to gain "experience outside the classroom which complements and enhances their academic studies" and employability (Hagerty, nd). Industries and companies participating in various internship programs and even those not doing so influence college curriculum and student educational choices through annual job fairs, special display places on campuses, and faculty consultantship and liaison roles (Franklin, 1982).

In summary, present developments in American technology and economy, as in the past, are reshaping American education, especially in the direction of restructuring schooling to train and credential future employees according to perceived needs of the economy. Indeed, the influence of technological and economic trends on priorities and structuring of schooling in America has been subject of repeated editorials in Science, of feature articles and comments in national magazines, and of news reports in national and local newspapers (e.g., Science, 1974, 1975, 1978, 1982; Newsweek, 1978, 1979, 1980a; New York Times, 1979, 1981; and The Daily Californian, 1976).

How Schooling Prepares Children To Support The Economic System

The educational system implements the task of recruiting people into the labor force by (a) teaching them the beliefs, values, and attitudes that support the economic system; (b) teaching them practical skills that make the economic system "work"; (c) enhancing the development of personal attributes compatible with the habits required at the industrial workplace; and (d) credentialling them to enter the workforce.

Anthropologists and others studying non-industiral societies have explored how children in thsoe societies acquire the beliefs, values, and attitudes that support their economic systems (See Barry et. al., 1959; Murdock and Whiting, 1951; Ruddle and Chesterfield, 1977; Sutton-Smith and Roberts, 1970). We have no comparable research for children in the United States. However, content analysis of schoolbooks in the nineteenth century suggests that schooling plays an important part in teaching

American children beliefs, values, and attitudes that support the American economic system (see Spindler, 1974). One such study by Elson (1964: 246-58), shows that in the nineteenth century the schoolbooks taught children the nature of American economy, its superiority over other economic systems, and ways to succeed in it. Elson found repeated statements, emphases, and pictures portraying the nature of the economic system and suggesting that it was the best in the world because of "American liberty and industry." The overall picture of the economy is that "the child... would view the whole industrial revolution as the products of American talent. He would also be likely to anticipate a perpetual glorious future in which man's control over nature will be steadily extended." The books also conveyed the idea that a person of any background could get ahead merely through personal hard work and his or her own efforts, rather than by joining labor unions or through collective bargaining. They identified labor unions with "irresponsible violence and probably with doctrines subversive of American institutions." On the whole the schoolbooks extolled acceptance of American labor conditions and hardwork as the best way to get ahead and taught that poverty was the result of idleness, wealth the fruit of hardwork, and that private property was a sacred right whose accumulation should be universally approved. All the schoolbooks analyzed by Elson "accepted as axiom that the law of history" for the individual and for the nation," is one of steady and inevitable progress toward greater material wealth and comfort as well as toward greater virtue and freedom."

Although we have no comparable study for the contemporary period, some analysis of contemporary schoolbooks by consumer advocates (e.g., Harty, 1979) and some feminists (e.g., Adams and Laurikietis, 1977; Frazier and Sadker, 1973) suggest that schoolbooks continue to play an important role in teaching children beliefs, values, and attitudes that support the economic system. Economic beliefs, values, and attitudes are also reinforced by "field trips" to industries sponsored by business establishments and by presentations in the public schools by representatives of corporations (Franklin, 1982).

Schools also teach some practical skills essential to make the industrial economy "work." The most obvious are reading, writing, and computational skills. Consider for the moment how American banking system would "work" if its employees and clients did not learn to read, write, and compute. But we know from ethnographic studies of interns, such as the study of interns in brokerage firms (Hagerty, nd), that important practical skills are acquired on the job regardless of the educational background of the intern. For example, Hagerty reports that one intern wrote in her journal that although a college degree helps it is not necessary. To be successful the intern must learn the culture and language of the brokerage office. And learning that language involved learning to speak and "understand a rapid, highly technical and often computational language composed of computerized abbreviations, symbols, and wealth of new terms" (nd: 23). The intern must also learn to watch, listen, read, and ask questions; asking questions involves phrasing them in a way that would elicit the desired information in an appropriate manner, place and time. Other skills acquired on the job by interns are initiative appropriate to the job, ability to extract information from accountant executives, social skills, and successful identification with role models.

That schooling enhances the acquisition of personal attributes other than practical skills for participating in the workforce has also been documented by ethnographers and other researchers. Among these attributes are punctuality and competition. Waller (1967, originally 1932) argued long ago that schools teach children the competitive values of American economic and political life through intra-mural and extra-mural athletic games and similar activities. In our own research in Stockton, California (1968-70) we learned from interviewing employers that they expect schools to teach children punctuality through enforcement of school and class attendance rules. One employer told us that he usually examined the high school attendance records of local graduates before considering hiring them on belief that if they had poor school attendance records or were tardy to classes they were likely to do the same on the job. LeCompte (1978) and Wilcox (1978) examined the structure and process of classroom tasks and concluded that they appear to teach children personal habits like conformity to a schedule, conformity to authority, keeping busy, maintaining order, and the like, paralleling the habits of punctuality, obedience, dependence, perseverence, deferred gratification, predictability,and others valued by employers. Scrupski (1975) has gone so far as to argue that schools are better suited than the family to inculcate these and other qualities which people need to participate in an industrial labor force. The reason, according to him, is that the organizations of social relationships and tasks of the school are closer to those of the workplace than are those of the family. The family, for example, is characterized by intimate and diffuse relationships, by particularistic and ascriptive standards, and by dependence on others. In contrast, the social organization of schools encourages impersonality and specificity in relationships, universalistic achieved standards, as well as self-reliance in task structure and performance features which are also characteristic of the corporate workplace. Finally, Cohen (1972) speculates that the way American classrooms are organized influences children's styles of thought. For example, she says that conventional classroom organization encourages development of analytic cognitive performance, while an "open" classroom organization does not. She further argues that different types of classroom organization and the structure of their activities have accompanied different phases of American economic development (e.g., period dominated by extraction of raw materials from nature; period of manufacturing tangible goods; and period of service provisions). Each seemed to require a particular kind of personality. Whether or not by design, Cohen appears to argue, there were modifications in classroom organization and in curriculum which tended to enhance the development of the functional personal qualities.

One more role of the schools is credentialling people to enter the workforce (Jencks, 1972). The importance of this function came to our attention during our research in Stockton, particularly in our interviews with two groups of informants. One was made up of local United States citizens who told us that they knew how to do different kinds of work, such as boat repairing, carpentry, and the like, but they could not practice these trades because they did not have "papers to show for it." That is, they had not been "credentialled" by some educational agency and therefore did not have license to practice. The other group consisted of immigrant professionals, especially dentists from the Philippines. Although the immigrants had trained as dentists in the best educational institutions of their homeland and had practiced dentistry in their homeland, they could not practice in Stockton without credentials from a California educational agency. That is, regardless of training, experience and expertise, these immigrants must first be examined and certified by California schools before they can practice.

In summary, then, looking at the matter from a societal point of view, schools are structured to prepare workers for the industrial economy. Schools try to accomplish this task in a number of ways, though they may not always recognize or acknowledge that they are doing so.

Epistemology and Educability

However, neither the political nor economic interests of society, nor the changing requirements of the economic system, nor the efforts of the schools themselves, can guarantee that schools will succeed in "educating" children of a client population. Schools' success depends in part on the folk epistemology of the people and their resulting model of and responses to schooling. The folk epistemology or people's perceptions and interpretations of how things work, especially how their society and its economic system work and how schooling fits into the scheme of things, is affected by several factors. Among them are the social organization of the society (e.g., degree and nature of social stratification) and how the population is situated within it, their historical experiences, their religious and other values. With respect to this epistemological aspect of schooling, the most important influence appears to the people's experiences with the labor market. In a population in which a significant number of people from varied backgrounds have become "successful" or have "made it" in wage labor, there would be a tendency to believe in the kinds of teachings portrayed in the nineteenth century American schoolbooks, namely, that "the laborer who accepted American labor conditions and worked hard would get ahead" (Elson, 1965: 251). Likewise, where people's access to better jobs, wages, chance for promotion on the job, and the like are enhanced by schooling, people will not only want education but also will exert the necessary efforts to do well in school (Ogbu, forthcoming, b). Favorable perceptions of linkages between schooling and opportunities in the labor market usually lead to favorbale perceptions of schooling and to the emergence of a folk model of schooling which promotes a strong pursuit of educational credentials.

The specific factor that connects folk epistemology arising from cultural values, labor market experiences and other forces, on the one hand, and schooling on the other, is the status mobility system or the folk theory of getting ahead. Every society or population has its own theory of getting ahead; and each theory tends to generate its own ideal behavior and its own ideal successful persons or role models--the kinds of people who are widely perceived by members of the society or population as people who are successful or who can get ahead because of their personal attributes and behaviors. Parents usually try to raise their children to be like such people (LeVine, 1967). If education or schooling is perceived over a reasonable period of time to explain why such people are successful, then the pursuit of education becomes incorporated into the status mobility system or the folk theory of success. In other words, where there is a strong connection between school success and later economic and societal success in adult life, people will develop a positive image of schooling, value going to school, and learn to work hard in school. Among such people there will likely emerge shared beliefs, values, and attitudes that support both the desire for, and perseverance in the pursuit of, school credentials. Eventually these become culturally sanctioned instrumental and categorical beliefs, attitudes, values, and behaviors enhancing school success, almost as if it were a cultural tradition or "natural endowment."

In that kind of a community, parents and other child-rearing agents tend to teach their children consciously and unconsciously the categorical beliefs, values, attitudes, and behaviors promoting children's striving to do well in school. They will also tend to guide and supervise the children in a manner that ensures that the children actually conform to expectations of school success. For their part, children in such a community will likely respond positively to schooling. By positive response, we mean that they accept and internalize the beliefs, values, and attitudes that support striving for school success, as well as those that support the economic system and other societal institutions with which schooling is connected; that children make a concerted effort to learn what schools teach; and that as they get older they may even take the initiative to search out those qualities essential for future participation in the labor force and how to acquire them. Children respond positively not only because of what their parents and other child-rearing agents teach them but also because of what they observe among older members of their community, namely, that there is a reasonable connection between schooling on the one hand and, on the other, jobs, wages, and other societal benefits, or that such a connection is expected to exist. Furthermore, children's positive responses are reinforced by the shared cultural knowledge and "folklore" of their communities when these embody the beliefs that school success and success in adult life are related. From all these and from the direct and indirect teachings of the schools themselves, children acquire the "facts" that enable them to form appropriate "cognitive maps" about their society's or community's status mobility system and the place of schooling within it. That is, they eventually develop a cultural conception of how to get ahead or how to "make it" and what role school plays in getting ahead. Where schooling facilitates getting ahead, children are taught, and believe from the early period of their school careers, that school success requires a reasonable degree of conformity to school rules or requirements and expectations. And in actuality they show a reasonable degree of conformity to those requirements and expectations.

Alternative Opportunities, Epistemology and Educability

Another factor shaping folk epistemology is the availability of alternative economic and other opportunities. Alternative opportunities do not necessarily encourage the pursuit of schooling for entry into the modern industrial workforce. For example, among the Amish, the assumptions and the goal orientations which underlie their alternative economic and other pursuits are quite different from those of the industrial economy. Education is, therefore, not structured or sought after among them as training in marketable skills (Hostetler and Huntington, 1971). However, in studying an alternative economic niche whose requirements do not emphasize conventional schooling one must be careful to specify whether the niche is voluntary or involuntary. With the Amish it is voluntary, in the context of American society. On the other hand there have been some immigrant groups, such as earlier Chinese immigrants to the United States, who perceived and pursued schooling in America as a preparation for entry and renumeration in a modern industrialand/or bureaucratic labor market, even though they faced a job ceiling because of their race. Thus, although they did not expect and did not receive sufficient rewards in jobs, wages, and the like for their education in America, they had positive perceptions of schooling and exerted every effort to get it. They knew that they could return to their homeland or re-emigrate to other societies where they would be more fully rewarded for their accomplishments (Ogbu, forthcoming, b.; Sung, 1967). In summary, where alternative opportunities reward school credentials people will develop coping strategies and competencies that enhance the pursuit of schooling even in the face of dismal conventional payoffs in the immediate setting.

CASTELIKE MINORITY STATUS AND SCHOOLING: THE MISSING LINK

Job Ceiling and Minority Schooling

Under structured inequality, especially one involving castelike minorities, the relationship between schooling and the economic system changes in some important respects. Castelike minorities (e.g., black Americans) are minorities who have been incorporated into "their country" more or less involuntarily and permanently and then relegated to menial status. Membership in a castelike minority group is usually acquired at birth, and one does not escape from collective subordination except through "passing" or emigration--options not always available. The economic status of castelike minorities is usually low because of economic subordination; their employment in wage labor depends on dominant-group members' epistemology or beliefs about the minorities and their proper place in the labor force. Generally, minorities are excluded from the more desirable jobs through job ceiling. A job ceiling is the highly consistent pressures and obstacles that selectively assign minorities to jobs at the lower level of status, power, dignity, and income while allowing members of the dominant group to compete more easily and freely on the basis of individual ability and training for more desirable jobs above that ceiling.

The level of the job ceiling and other forms of subordination, including unequal power relations, shape dominant group members' ideas about the minorities' status, their role in the economy, and how minorities get ahead or should get ahead. This dominant group's epistemology, in turn, determines how the schooling of the minorities is designed, including how much and what kind of access to formal education the minorities have, whether the minorities attend segregated or integrated schools, what the schools should teach them, and how the schools should treat them. But regardless of differences in access, structure, and process, schooling among castelike minorities, like schooling among dominant-group members, is also structured to prepare children for future employment. The main difference is that the minority employment is in the inferior sector of the economy; hence, the dominant group tends to design inferior and often segregated schooling for the minorities, which is consistent with the requirements of the menial jobs held by the minorities in the labor force.

Minority Epistemology, Minority Educability And The Desegregation Situation

The design and implementation of minority schooling do not, of course, fully account for the fact that, on the average, castelike minorities do less well in school than members of the dominant group and than members of other kinds of minorities. The performance of castelike minorities depends also on their own epistemology and coping responses which are usually different from those of the dominant group. The epistemology of castelike minorities is often characterized by a sense of enduring collective institutionalized discrimination (Ogbu, 1974; Lewis, 1979, 1981). Their perceptions and interpretations of how things "work," of the social and economic realities, frequently lead them to conclude that they are given inferior and segregated education deliberately to prevent them from qualifying for the more desirable jobs open to members of the dominant group. They also are inclined to believe that they cannot easily improve their chances in the labor market merely through individual efforts to obtain school credentials. That is, they believe that their school credentials do not translate into the same kinds of jobs and other economic and societal benefits that similar school credentials bring to whites. Consequently, castelike minorities often resort to "collective struggle" to eliminate or raise the job ceiling against them and to "abolish" segregated education and achieve equal educational opportunity through equal access, curriculum content, and treatment. In addition, the minorities develop other coping responses, some of which are not necessarily conducive to conventional school success. The point to stress, however, is that castelike minorities' definition of the desegration situation rests chiefly on their epistemology and their efforts to ameliorate and cope with their menial status.

THE CASE OF BLACK AMERICANS

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RACIAL STRATIFICATION

The issue of school desegregation has historically been associated with the education of racial minorities, especially black Americans. In most studies of the problem, however, "race" is treated as an important variable, but not "racial stratification." Our cross-cultural studies suggest that it is not race *per se* but racial stratification that is the important variable (Ogbu, 1978a). "Race," as used in this chapter, is a folk category, a culturally defined concept. It is not a biological phenomenon in the sense of subspecies defined by gene frequencies (Loehlin et. al., 1975; Ogbu, 1977). We use it in the sense that Americans do when they say that blacks and whites belong to different races because they differ in innate and physical features, but at the same time they classify any known offspring of black and white mating as black regardless of his or her innate make-up or physical appearance. It is this folk classification that determines white and black perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors toward each other.

Whether race is biologically or culturally defined, racial-group membership does not necessarily lead to differences in school performance; nor does it call for school desegregation. Children from different races (e.g., Caucasian white Americans, Asian Americans, such as Chinese and Japanese) can equally do well in the same or separate schools (Coleman et. al., 1966; Ogbu, forthcoming, b.). On the other hand, children from groups belonging to the same race may not do equally well in the same or separate schools. This can be seen by comparing Oriental Jews and Ashkenazi Jews in Israel (Ackerman, 1973; Rosenfeld, 1973; Ogbu, 1978a); and in Japan a similar disparity in school performance exists between the Burakumin and the non-Burakumin (DeVos and Wagatsuma, 1967; Shimahara, 1971; Ogbu, 1978a). Significantly, the disparity between the Burakumin and the non-Burakumin disappears in the United States where the two groups are not stratified in a dominant-minority relations (Ito, 1967). Thus, race is an important variable in educability and school desegregation only when racial groups are stratified so that the subordinate racial group members are denied, among other things, both equal educational opportunity (e.g., through segregated and inferior education) and equal rewards for educational efforts and accomplishements (e.g., through the job ceiling).

Yet, not all instances of racial stratification raise the issue of educability and school desegregation to the same magnitude as those in the black American situation. These problems are more pronounced when racial stratification approximates castelike stratification, as in the case of black-white stratification in the United States. In other words, that magnitude of the problem is characteristic of the education of castelike minorities. We are using the term "castelike minority" to designate any racial, ethnic, or other minority characterized by the distinguishing features of castelike minorities described earlier. Castelike is, therefore, an analytic concept for describing stratification systems more rigid than class stratification but not necessarily a caste system in the classic Hindu sense (Ogbu, 1977, 1981a).

ORIGINS OF SCHOOL SEGREGATION AND DESEGREGATION

The problem of racial stratification, job ceiling, and school segregation is considered separately for the South and North because of some differences in black experiences in the two regions. For each region we will indicate periods highlighting developments in racial segregation affecting school segregation and desegregation; where possible we will indicate black responses. The latter are not well documented for earlier periods. What are better described in the literature are patterns of black subordination and its economic and educational consequences. Our main argument in the following historical review is that for any given period black schooling was consciously or unconsciously designed to complement their inferior economic niche.

The South

Racial stratification prior to 1861 was based on chattel slavery of people of African descent. It meant absolute control of blacks by whites; legally, the "black codes" defined both slave and free blacks so as to distinguish them from whites of any class: free blacks could not, for example, vote or hold public office, could not marry white persons, could not testify in criminal or civil trials involving whites, and they could not engage in skilled crafts in some places. The general white folk-beliefs which were partly responsible for and reinforced the legal codes were that blacks were mentally, socially, and culturally inferior. With respect to employment, prior to the Emancipation blacks were not permitted to engage in professional or white-collar occupations requiring formal education. Educationally, this was a period of exclusion: there were legal prohibitions against blacks, free and slaves, receiving formal education (Bond, 1966; Bullock, 1967).

After 1861, particularly during Reconstruction, some efforts were made to build a new kind of social order based on social class rather than racial-group membership or birth-ascribed status. The Civil War (1861-1865) appeared to have destroyed the old stratification system. Apparently blacks now had access to many desirable jobs above the job ceiling, at least in the public sector, and many became elected officials at local, state, and federal levels (Bond, 1966). The new conception of blacks profoundly influenced their education. The legal prohibitions against educating blacks were removed, and it was assumed that education was the best means of elevating blacks to the same social, economic, and political status held by whites. Equally important, blacks were believed by the powers-that-were to be as educable as whites; both black and white children received the same kind of education modelled after the public school education of the time in New England. However, it was also during this time that the question of school segregation and desegregation first appeared. The "separate school" question, Bond (1966) tells us, was never really resolved, so that in some states blacks and whites attended the same schools; in others they attended separate schools. But whether in the same or separate schools, the education of the two races appeared to have been maintained on equal basis.

Racial stratification was re-established between 1877 and 1900 after the Conservative Democrats gained control of Southern legislatures. Many came from the same segment of white elites that had controlled the social order prior to the Civil War. The "new" rulers embarked upon a redefinition of black status which established blacks as a pariah caste by 1900. This was chiefly through constitutional conventions, legislative statutes, and court decisions (see Ogbu, 1978a). An important feature of the stratification system during this period was the re-emergence of the job ceiling in wage labor. Although a job ceiling had existed during slavery, its educational implications were small because there were not many blacks receiving formal education. Blacks were now systematically displaced from skilled jobs: first, white workers gradually invaded the skilled jobs traditionally held by blacks; second, white craft unions and apprenticeship systems which developed between 1865 and 1885 excluded blacks; and third, where a particular type of job was made easier or "cleaner" by a technological change, the work was redefined as "white man's work." As a result of the lowering of the job ceiling blacks worked primarily in three occupations in the general Southern economy by 1900: agriculture, domestic and personal services, and unskilled labor. The small proportion of black workers (about 1.1 percent) in professional and skilled occupations was found only in segregated black community and public institutions serving almost exclusively blacks, like schools and hosptials (Ogbu, 1978a; see also Frazier, 1957; Greene and Woodson, 1930; Johnson, 1943; Marshall, 1968; Ross, 1967). Available data indicate that by 1900 blacks and whites were not participating any longer in the same social-class system based on individual training and ability; rather, they formed two distinct stratified racial castes in which blacks were subordinate (Bond, 1966; Bullock, 1967; Konvitz, 1961; Weiss, 1972).

During the same period black education was redefined to be consistent with a subordinate status. The sentiment and belief of the white population, especially those of the former slave-holding class, were that blacks were not intellectually equal to whites. They therefore felt that blacks and whites should not be provided with the same kind of education. Rather, they argued, whites should receive "academic" education and blacks "industrial" education or "manual" training. Several mechanisms were used to differentiate black and white education "legally" (Ogbu, 1978a). This differentiation pertained not only to the kind and quality of schooling but also to separate schooling. It has been suggested by some analysts that the institution of "industrial" education for blacks served the interests of the "tenant system" in Southern agriculture. True, this kind of education ensured the supply of appropriate labor for the system, but whites and blacks could have fulfilled the same need by receiving "industrial education." Yet it was thought more appropriate to prepare only blacks to serve as "peons" in the system (Bond, 1966).

The period from 1900 to 1940 began with blacks occupying more or less a pariah status established through constitutional amendments, legislative statutes, court decisions, and custom. Black status was not altered but reinforced during the period. The primary fields of black employment in this period continued to be agriculture, domestic and personal services, and unskilled common labor. In many Southern industries blacks were totally excluded even from common labor. Where they were hired they were restricted to "Negro jobs" which meant menial jobs with social stigma, low wages, a high degree of intermittency, and a high degree of "physical and psychological disutility" (Myrdal, 1944: 1081). Blacks were totally excluded from professional and white collar jobs in the general Southern economy dominated by whites. The only places where they worked in such positions were in segregated black communities and public institutions, mainly schools and hospitals. Even in federal civil service based on examination, some devices were used to limit the number and advancement of black workers (Greene and Woodson, 1930). Although the system provided for black teachers, preachers, and doctors and nurses in segregated schools, churches, and hospitals, it made no allowance for black architects, civil engineers, business managers, and the like (Ogbu, 1978a).

There were significant developments in black education which reinforced its separate and inferior nature. First, there was a mounting opposition to black education: whites protested that they were being unfairly taxed to educate blacks (Bond, 1969; Bullock, 1967; Myrdal, 1944). Then there was a growing belief that if blacks received any education at all it should be the kind consistent with their fixed place in society. Various mechanisms were used further to make black education different, separate, and unequal: inadequate funding; poorly trained, poorly paid, overworked teachers; inferior curriculum; shorter school days and shorter school years; further segregation; and the like. The results were a further deterioration of black education, poorer school performance and attainment, and interracial conflict. It was under this circumstance that Northern philanthropists intervened with the chief concern to maintain interracial harmony in the region. They accepted or at least acknowledged the stratification of the racial castes and decided to improve black education within it by adopting an approach most acceptable to Southern whites. Consequently, they endorsed, and supported financially, the idea that black education should be "industrial" and "special": some blacks would be given academic and professional training to serve the black community as teachers, preachers, doctors, lawyers, and the like; but the black masses would receive "industrial education" (Bullock, 1967).

There was no significant change in the status of blacks in Southern stratification from 1940 to 1960. But the labor shortage created by World War II and the Korean War as well as pressures from civil rights groups enabled more blacks to obtain wage labor, especially semi-skilled and skilled jobs. Most black wage-earners in the general Southern economy and in local and state government employment continued, though, to be restricted to "Negro jobs." The exceptions were, as before, in the segregated black communities and public institutions serving blacks, and to some extent in the federal civil service in some border states. On the whole, the pervasive effect of the job ceiling was demonstrated in a study of black employement in 372 firms in four states that had received federal government contracts (Henderson, 1968), a survey of black participation in state and local government employment in Tennessee and Nashville (Henderson, 1967), and studies of black employment in corporations (e.g., International Harvester) in Birmingham and Chattanooga (Marshall, 1968).

Black education remained segregated and inferior. But there were two new developments which illustrate the impact of white epistemology on black schooling for employment, on the one hand, and on the other, black epistemology and responses. The first was a de-emphasis by whites on "industrial education" for blacks in the early 1930s (Ogbu, 1978a). The reason was that "industrial education" had acquired a new meaning and a new role in the general economy. American industrial developments were requiring more and more workers trained in industrial skills. Because of this there arose an industrial education movement supported financially by federal and state governments. At this point Southern whites more or less decided that the school curriculum for blacks could emphasize academic and classical education if they wished and refused black schools the necessary funds that would enable them to teach blacks the kind of industrial skills they needed for employment in the general economy. Myrdal has suggested that whites probably reasoned that it was not a good idea to fund black schools to train blacks to compete effectively with whites for "skilled and economically rewarding occupations" (Myrdal, 1944: 897-98; see also Bond, 1966; Frazier, 1957; Pierce et al., 1955).

The second major development was that blacks began to initiate the school desegregation process by filing suits in courts challenging the principle and practice of "separate and equal" education. The "equalization movement" began with a focus on the gap in teacher salaries or the gap in societal rewards, and on inequality in professional training and higher education. The NAACP filed its first suit on teacher salaries in Maryland in 1936, and by 1948 had won 27 of 38 cases in eight states. This had some rippling effects, so that by 1952 the gap in white-black salaries had nearly disappeared (Bullock, 1967; Bond, 1966; Pierce et al., 1955). The challenge to separate provision for professional training was equally successful. This also had some rippling effects, as the exclusion of blacks from participation in some other aspects of education (e.g., school administration, schoolboard membership, etc.) began to be relaxed (Pierce et al., 1955). Blacks subsequently expanded the equalization movement to the abolition of the dual school systems in the South. In 1954 the United States Supreme Court decided in their favor in the case of Brown v. Topeka.

The Brown decision initiated a change in a causal order of relationship between black schooling, on the one hand, and on the other, racial stratification and job ceiling. As we have tried to suggest up to this point, inferior schooling for blacks appeared up to 1954 to have been more or less designed to be consistent with their inferior job status. Of course, the relationship between black job status and black schooling changed periodically due to some historical events (e.g., the take-over of legislative powers by Conservative Democrats around 1877). Such events sometimes reinforced the stratification and lowered the job ceiling; sometimes they made racial stratification less rigid and/or raised the job ceiling. These kinds of developments in the system generally influenced white epistemology about the proper place of blacks in society and in the economic system and the latter, in turn, affected the kind of education whites considered appropriate for blacks.

It appears that from 1954 this order of events was to be reversed. Basically, the decision of the United States Supreme Court in Brown was a move to abolish school segregation--to redesign black schooling--without first changing the social structure (racial stratification), the black economic niche, white epistemology, and vaious forms of domination supporting separate and inferior education for blacks. Moreover, the new order was "imposed" by an external authority. This is the context within which one may begin to analyze and understand Southern whites' interpretation of the desegregation situation and their resistance to it (Ogbu, 1978a). One Southern white farmer summed up the general white attitude of the time by saying, "We will move (with all deliberate speed) as slow as possible and as fast as necessary" (Hall, 1974: 5).

Since 1960 efforts have been made to abolish "official" or "officialized" aspects of the racial stratification. This has been done partly through continuing revolts of blacks against their more or less fixed status and partly through external intervention by the U.S. Congress (e.g., through the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965), the executive branch of the federal government, and the federal courts. The extent to which these have caused fundamental changes in the caste structure or altered Southern whites' conception of blacks remains to be demonstrated (Fuller, 1981).

The Civil Rights activities and legislation of the 1960s, especially Title II of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, have enabled some blacks to gain entry into more skilled jobs and some white-collar and professional jobs outside the black communities and segregated public institutions, i.e., jobs in the private sector and in local and state governments. Other forces which have made whites hire blacks in such jobs are the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission established in 1961 by President Kennedy, and black "collective struggle," including protests and boycotts against white businesses (Hill, 1968; Ladenburg and McFeely, 1969). Note, however, that studies of black employment in the South in the 1970s showed that blacks still faced a job ceiling in the private sector of the economy as well as in some local governments (e.g., Memphis and Houston) and in state government employment (e.g., North Carolina and Tennessee) (see Collins and Noblit, 1979; Ross, 1973). In the area of schooling we find that the same external forces that have attempted to loosen racial stratification and raise the job ceiling have also been active in desegregating Southern public schools by abolishing the legal status of the dual school system and promoting desegregation through threats and incentives. Where whites have not fled from the public schools there is some physical mixing of children and staff because of compliance rather than any alteration in the ideology or epistemology previously supporting separate schools. But even in the desegregated schools, resegregation is taking place in the educational preparation of children for adult life (Collins, 1978).

The North

Evolution of racial stratification in the North followed a different path, but the pattern which emerged was the same as that in the South. Here as in the South, blacks have occupied a subordinate status throughout the history of the region. Their somewhat higher status in the North relative to their status in the South is due to some historical circumstances, like the Civil War. It should be pointed out that it is more difficult to analyze the stratification system in the North and to convince Northerners that they live in racially stratified communities; there are no reliable statistics since data are not kept by race. This is also because of a "liberal ideology" under which equalitarian principles mask the realities of racial inequality. Given this background we shall briefly summarize the developments in the North as they bear on school segregation and desegregation.

Initially, racial stratification in the North, as in the South, was based on chattel slavery. The few blacks who were "free" did not have much higher status than slaves: the free blacks were disenfranchised, and their economic activities and social privileges were very restricted. After slavery was abolished in the North there was no significant improvement in the status of blacks. Almost all blacks in the region were disenfranchised; in many Northern states the constitution specifically limited voting rights to "white males" (Frazier, 1957; Myrdal, 1944). It is said that blacks who escaped from the South had to fight not only for the abolition of slavery in the South but also against caste oppression in the North (including disenfranchisement, denial of employment, etc.).

The job ceiling in the North began even earlier than in the South. Moreover, blacks had to compete for "Negro jobs" with white immigrants. As a result Northern blacks were virtually restricted to menial jobs, especially to domestic and personal services and common labor. The job ceiling was also more severe on black males since most of the domestic and personal service jobs went to women, as shown in studies of black employment in Cincinnati in 1835 and in Philadelphia in 1849 (Greene and Woodson, 1930; New York State Commission, 1960). The severity of the job ceiling was one of the reasons for founding the first organization for "collective struggle" in 1830, the Colored People's Convention. Black education in the region prior to 1861 was consistent with their menial status: neither before nor after the abolition of slavery in the North was black schooling intended to prepare blacks to obtain the same social, political, and economic positions open to whites; nor was it intended to integrate blacks and whites into the same political community or social life. In many places whites not only opposed black admission to public schools, but they also burned private schools for blacks. Opposition to inclusion of blacks sometimes lessened only after public schools had been firmly established for whites. Prior to 1861 there were several Northern states, including Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania where the legislatures passed laws requiring blacks and whites to attend separate schools (Bond, 1966; Pierce et al., 1955).

Racial stratification in the North became less rigid between 1861 and 1910 because of the Civil War, Reconstruction, and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments pushed by the North against the wishes of the South. To avoid an embarrassing situation Northern states were more or less forced to remove the word "white" from their constitutions in order to enfranchise black males. But in private areas like employment new opportunities were not extended to blacks, who continued to be confined to domestic and menial jobs (Spear, 1967). Just how severe the effects of the job ceiling had become at the turn of the century can be seen from the fact that there were no more black males than black females engaged in domestic and personal service. But even here blacks faced serious competition with white immigrants who were displacing them as house servants, waiters, porters, and bellboys (Ogbu, 1978a). The development of a black professional and white-collar class of workers was more retarded in the North than in the South of the same period because Northern blacks lacked large segregated communities and public institutions.

Officially, separate schools for blacks had been abolished by 1900, through the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. But separate schools continued to exist because whites forced their local schoolboards to use various devices to ensure that blacks and whites did not attend the same schools. Thus, in Philadelphia the schoolboard used "gerrymandering" to maintain separate schools for the two races; in East Orange, New Jersey, blacks and whites attended the same schools but not the same classes; and in Cincinnati, Ohio, the policy was to send 50% of the black students to mixed school and the other 50% to segregated schools (Spear, 1967). Although no statistics were kept by race, studies of specific cities indicate that the segregated schools attended by blacks were generally inferior to the white schools (DuBois, 1967; Ovington, 1911).

Racial stratification and school segregation existed in the North before the mass immigration of Southern blacks beginning in 1910 (Katzman, 1973; Thernstrom, 1970; Ovington, 1911). Mass immigration merely reinforced the pattern that already existed in the region. With regard to employment, opportunities for wage-labor increased, especially for black males at this time. The number of black male wage-earners rose from 160,000 in 1910 to 480,000 in 1930 because of the shortage of labor during World War I, the industrial expansion of the 1920s, and the restriction of immigrant labor. But the occupational niche into which blacks moved was one of unskilled labor and other jobs not desired by white workers in steel mills, auto industries, foundries, packing houses, highway construction, railroad maintenance, food industries, coal mines, and domestic and personal services. Still, a large number of manufacturing industries continued to proscribe black labor at any level. More significantly, blacks were almost totally excluded from professional and white-collar jobs in the general economy of the North. Although a few obtained such jobs in federal, state, and local governments through civil service examinations, the main place where blacks achieved higher job status on the basis of individual training and ability was in emerging segregated institutions of the ghettos, such as churches, schools, and health facilities. Northern blacks might have had access to better jobs in the North relative to what was available to them in the South, but they were generally not better off relative to Northern whites. In fact, the severity of the relative deprivation experienced by Northern blacks led them from 1929 to organize boycotts to force white businesses, especially businesses located in the ghettos in Chicago, New York City, Newark, N.J., Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C., to hire blacks in white-collar positions (Callis, 1935; Frazier, 1957; Johnson, 1943; Myrdal, 1944; and Ross, 1967).

In the field of education black schooling was marked by increasing segregation and differentiation from white schooling. Some, including school districts as defendants in desegregation cases, have argued that school segregation in the North is largely a result of residential segregation. From our point of view residential segregation itself is, however, one way that white people express their belief in inferiority and denigration of blacks as a castelike minority. And there is an undisputable evidence that the formation of black ghettos in Northern cities generally followed a common pattern in which official and unofficial action of the dominant whites is undeniable. As Forman (1971) has shown, white official and unofficial, collective and individual actions or devices promoting the formation of the ghettos include local government ordinances, restrictive covenants that were "legal" until 1948, tactics of real-estate brokers and lending institutions, the FHA, and the like. School segregation and inferior education have also been reinforced by various devices of more or less exclusively white local school boards: attendance area boundaries based on discretionary definition of what is "convenient" for pupils, siting of new schools, pupil transportation, pupil transfers, and the like (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967).

Black population in the North continued to grow between 1940 and 1960 partly because of migration from the South. The Northern pattern of stratification remained, with increasing residential segregation or ghettoization. The ghettoization increased black political influence which had begun to emerge in the last period (Myrdal, 1944). The growth of the political strength would become important in the "collective struggle" for equality in education and other areas. In employment blacks made some important gains between 1940 and 1960 partly because of shortage of labor during

World War II and the Korean War, and partly because of their civil rights activities. The restriction of blacks to an inferior niche in the labor force because of white epistemology is dramatically demonstrated by their intital exclusion from employment in war-related industries. In spite of the shortage of labor during World War II, blacks were not hired initially for skilled jobs in war-related industries because of their race. Employers said they would not hire blacks because people in the communities where their plants were located did not want blacks and white employees did not want to work with blacks. Employers with federal contracts began to hire blacks only after blacks and their civil rights supporters "persuaded" the President to issue Executive Order 8902 in 1941, forcing contractors with the federal government to hire blacks. Following this some blacks were hired for skilled jobs, but most were hired for semi-skilled jobs. Throughout the period blacks were not generally hired for professional and white-collar or skilled jobs as a normal course of events, except in segregated schools, health facilities, and the civil service, especially the postal service, based on examination. Black managers and proprietors were almost all from black establishments in the ghetto (see Johnson, 1943; Norgren and Hill, 1964; Ross, 1967). Black schooling was consistent with the general level of subordination and exclusion: it continued to be segregated, inferior, and geared toward preparing blacks more for their menial occupational niche than for open competition with whites for more desirable jobs.

Since 1960 there have been significant changes in Northern stratification due to the same civil rights activities, including legislation, and other forces mentioned earlier in connection with developments in the South about the same period. These forces have also raised the job ceiling for some segments of the black population (Ogbu, 1981a; Willie, 1979; Wilson, 1978). The changes in the job ceiling have been accompanied by complementary efforts to redesign black education to fit their new status. And one of the strategies is school desegregation.

Social Change, Epistemology And Desegregation

To understand current black epistemology and its relevance for their definition of desegregation situation, we need to take note of two features of the changes that have been taking place since the 1960s, especially with respect to the job ceiling. One is that increased black opportunity for employment above the job ceiling is not due to a change in the requirements of the industrial economy; rather it is the result of social and political pressures from blacks and their supporters--the results of "collective struggle." The second feature is that the changes in job opportunities have not evenly affected all segments of the black population.

The forces that have contributed to raising the job ceiling, i.e., to increasing black employment in professional, white-collar, and skilled jobs, have been almost all outside the economic system itself. They include executive action like the establishment of President Kennedy's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities in 1961; legislative actions at state and federal levels, such as Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964; direct pressures on white business establishments, such as civil suits filed by the NAACP, boycotts and similar protests by various civil right groups; pressures from the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights on public and private institutions, including public schools and colleges and universities, to hire blacks and other minorities at all levels of their job classification; and government encouragement of public and private institutions and businesses to adopt affirmative action policies and programs. These measures had some rippling effects on private industries and other business establishments, especially among those holding federal contracts. It has also become a good public relations strategy since the mid 1960s for white businesses to have some minority employees (Ogbu, 1978a; forthcoming, b). These efforts were so successful that between 1960 and 1970 the number of blacks employed in two top-level job categories--professional and technical workers-- rose by 128%, although the increase for the general population was only 49%; and the number of black managers, officials, and proprietors increased by 100%, even though the general population experienced an increase of only 23% in the same job categories (Brimmer, 1974; Ross, 1973). As reported by Freeman (1978), the average number of recruitment visits to predominantly black colleges by representatives of American corporations was only 4 in 1960. This rose to 50 in 1965 and then to 297 in 1970. To reiterate, these improved employment opportunities are not the results of changes in the needs of the economic system of labor force requirements as perceived by employers, unlike the course of change in white employment opportunities.

The other feature to be noted is that not all segments of the black population have experienced these improvements in employment opportunties. Deliberate government policies backed by legislation and other forces noted above have helped mainly middle-class blacks, especially young college-educated blacks. It is true that some legislation in the 1960s and 1970s (e.g., the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the Emergency Employment Act of 1971, and the Comprehensive and Training Act of 1973) spawned a variety of job training programs for "the disadvantaged," among whom blacks are disproportionately represented (e.g., the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the Job Corps, Work Experience, Operation Mainstream, New Careers, the Concentrated Employment Program, Job Opportunities in Business Sector). The underlying assumptions of these programs are basically those of the human capital proponents which attribute unemployment and menial employment of blacks and others similarly situated to their lack of education or skills and ability needed and rewarded in the labor force. Their effectiveness in improving the employment opportunities of "the disadvantaged" has long been questioned (Harrison, 1972; Levitan and Taggart, 1976). Moreover, these programs are favorite targets of criticism by various politicians and of administrative inconsistencies.

On the whole, it can be said that there has been no affirmative action policy for the non-college educated blacks of equal weight to that for the college-educated. We may also note that in the 1960s when the pool of jobs increased because of the Vietnam War and social programs, there was an increase in black employment in all levels of jobs. But in the early 1970s when the pool of jobs decreased the employment of the non-college-educated blacks slowed down, and many of those already employed lost their jobs partly because blacks were the last hired and first fired. This loss of jobs has continued to the 1980's with the black unemployment rate almost double that of the nation as a whole.

Few blacks attribute the higher unemployment rate of blacks to lack of education or qualification. Blacks ask why non-college-educated whites are more employable than non-college-educated blacks. They point out that exclusion of blacks with similar backgrounds as whites increases when the pool of jobs is small, not because blacks are less educated. For example, in the 1960s when the pool of jobs increased the unemployment rates of the black "underclass" and white "underclass" differed by less than 3 percentage points--12.5 to 10.2, respectively. However, by 1977 when the pool of jobs decreased and black exclusion increased, the unemployment gap rose to 10 percent, 25.6 percent for the black "underclass" as against 15.6 percent for the white "underclass," despite the fact that blacks were more educated in 1977 relative to whites than they were in the 1960s. Commenting on this shift in the unemployment gap, Newman (1979: 96-7) syas that "it is illogical to conclude that the black underclass is less employable than the white American underclass, unless white is included in the 'goods' and services and skills being offered in the marketplace."

In concluding this section we want to emphasize a point made initially, namely, that the historical and structural developments we have reviewed here are important for the definition of desegregation situations. An adequate study of the desegregation situation will have to consider how such matters impact on the epistemologies of the major participants. In the next section we shall explore briefly their possible impact on black epistemology, especially on how blacks define the desegregation situation and their subsequent responses.

BLACK PERSPECTIVE ON DESEGREGATION SITUATION

Segregation

It is not easy to describe how blacks perceive and respond to white design of their education at each of the preceding periods reviewed above, because the information is not always available, especially for the early periods. We know, however, that almost from the beginning blacks have wanted the same kind of education given to whites, to qualify for the same jobs and other positions requiring education in society. So it seems reasonable to assume that blacks have never been content with the inferior education given to them. In fact, Bell (1972: 36) tells us that "throughout the 19th century, black parents filed dozens of lawsuits seeking to obtain schooling for their children. Later they petitioned, litigated, and protested to equalize or integrate their local schools."

We have suggested elsewhere (Ogbu, 1974, 1978a, 1981b) on the basis of our ethnographic and cross-cultural studies of minority education, that it is probably because whites have long denied blacks equal educational opportunities as well as equal societal rewards (e.g., jobs and wages) commensurate with their educational accomplishments that blacks have developed an epistemology marked by what may be called a collective institutional discrimination perspective referred to earlier. We are not suggesting that this perspective is the only feature of black epistemology. However, it is a dominant force which has made the question of access and quality education the overriding concern of blacks in school desegregation.

Nor are we suggesting that the concern for equality and social welfare is totally absent in the white population. In other words, there are overlapping interests between the black and white segments of American society. But these interests and epistemologies are not identical because of differences in actual experiences as well as in perceptions of the reasons for the different experiences. For example, although blacks and whites are concerned with equality and social welfare, white policies and behaviors have not usually allowed blacks to experience the same degree of equality and social welfare enjoyed by the whites, as we tried to show in the preceding section. Likewise, blacks and whites believe that competition for jobs should be free, fair and based on individual training and ability. But in reality, whites have not usually been willing to extend to blacks the opportunity for that kind of free and fair competition.

The discrepancy between societal beliefs or between white epistemology and white treatment of blacks is illustrated by the exclusion of blacks from "industrial education" in the 1930s and from skilled jobs in war-related industries during World War II. That blacks are aware of and dislike the discrepancy is seen in their long-standing "collective struggle" to change the way whites treat them. The way blacks perceive and interpret the discrepancy is also evident in the way Benjamin Hooks, the director of the NAACP, recently explained the decrease in white participation in civil rights activities on the behalf of blacks. According to Hooks, white participation in civil rights activities was high in the 1960s because at that time blacks appeared to be demanding things that were not economically threatening to whites: the right to ride the bus, drink water from the fountain, and buy and eat hot dogs. "Now," however, he added, "what we are after is different: we want to reach an economic plateau. That is much different. People who supported us in our right to drink water from the fountain may not support us in our right to make the water fountain; those who supported us in our right to buy and eat hot dogs may not support us in our right to make hot dogs or be president of the hot dog company. There's a vast difference in our objectives"(Harris, 1983: 11A; emphasis added).

Another example of black perceptions and interpretations of the discrepancy between societal ideals and white people's treatment of blacks comes from our own research in Stockton, California. In 1969 the local white community successfully opposed a plan to integrate the local public schools by busing, arguing that school integration should take place through integrated housing or neighborhood integration. Yet, the same people had voted against proposition 14 for open housing by a margin of 2 to 1 a few years earlier. Furthermore, in 1970 they also successfully opposed a plan to build low-cost housing outside the central city, including predominantly white neighborhoods. We also learned from interviews with both white and black informants and from local documents that before 1963 blacks were totally barred from living in white neighborhoods regardless of their education and economic status (Meer and Freeman, 1966; Ogbu, 1974, 1977). At the time of our research many middle-class blacks had difficulties obtaining mortgage loans to buy homes in the predominantly white neighborhoods in North Stockton. As if these were not enough to keep blacks and whites reisdentially segregated, white officials in charge of the local federal housing authority appeared to direct housing subsidies and other assistance for blacks and whites so as to reinforce local residential segregation; these officials more or less assigned leased housing and subsidized apartment rentals to blacks and whites in separate parts of the city. The following excerpt from our interview with a black school administrator very well reflects the way many other black informants perceived the action of the housing authority:

Informant #510: That incident that happened last year out in Sierra Vista: this was not the kids' fault. This was (the community's) fault for letting that thing get into a situation like that. The federal government sponsors all low-rent housing, you know. The federal government says you cannot discriminate in any way. If you go out and apply, your name goes--they put your name down. The next person comes, he applies, you know, his name goes down. We cannot discriminate in any way (according to the law). Now in order to get around this thing (i.e., prohibition against discrimination), we have one housing authority in San Joaquin County. One! That takes care of San Joaquin County. We have homes in Tracy, Thornton--

Anthropologist: Lodi?

Informant #510: No, not Lodi, We have the Camps, though, the Horney Lane Camp for migrant farmworkers. We have Conway Homes, Sierra Vista Homes, and we have the leased housing. One housing authority, though, one housing authority is in charge of this whole thing. In order to keep black, white, middle class or middle or whatever you want to call it, what we do is, uh! we have offices for applicants at each location. Now, you know that no white (person) is going to go out there to Sierra Vista (to apply). It's strictly gonna be blacks. In Sierra Vista (apartments) we have out there 390 black families out of 400; well, there's 35 white families out there. (But) in leased housing under the same program--this is where you have homes now (as opposed to apartments), you know, scattered throughout the district, uh! out of 600 homes, 560 (are) white.

Anthropologist: Really?

Informant #510: Yeah. But we have one housing authority. And what would be wrong with havin' all these applicants come in to one central place and apply, so you (can) put them, you know white, black, white, black and then when you take the next vacancy occurring, here it is. If you want this house, you get it. If you don't want it, we can't make you take it. You can go back to the bottom of the list. We could, we could do a lot by eliminating our ghettos out at Sierra Vista. But we don't want to hurt anybody, though, see? Whites don't want to live out there (in Sierra Vista). But they want this $50 a month rent (subsidy), though... to keep the blacks out there. Let us have the scattered housin', the leased housin', the homes, so that nobody will know I'm on welfare and nobody'll know--we have some people livin' in (some) 150 (houses) which would cost--it would cost them $150 to $200 a month at fair market value, but they don't pay for that.

Anthropologist: You know...

Informant #510: Yeah! Fifty-four dollars.--Now, we have--there's 600 and some whites on leased housin'; we have a hundred blacks (on leased housin', too). Now, if you look at the map for the leased housin' (showing the map to the anthropologist), you know, we have a map that every house that is under leased housin' we have a little red flag. We also have, uh! a racial breakdown of this. We have all the blacks in one little area. It's not scattered. The blacks are not scattered. They're in that one little group.

> These things--it's just terrible. We have created it. Our government, our agencies--HUD set up this program. Well, we want to integrate, and we're gonna scatter housin', put these families all out there. What do we do? Give these middle-class whites first options on these (leased) houses, give'em a $200 home for $54 a month. There has to be something wrong when you have 600 white families on leased housin', 35 (white) families in Sierra Vista (apartments). (Then) in Sierra Vista (apartments) you have 390 black families, in Sierra Vista, ghetto construction-type homes and 100 black families on leased housin'. And out of these 100, they're all bunched in one area.

Differential treatment of this kind which goes on in spite of black and white idealization of equality and social welfare is not confined to Stockton. In fact, as I write this it is reported that the United States Department of Justice filed a suit the other day against the town of Cicero, Illinois, "charging that the town deliberately has prevented blacks from living there or obtaining municipal jobs" (Oakland Tribune, 1983a: A-3). The point we wish to make is that it is the experience and perception of these kinds of differential expectations and/or treatment that make black epistemology diverge from white epistemology even though blacks and whites endorse the same societal ideals. And we have suggested elsewhere and here reiterate that this divergent epistemology, this differential interpretation of how things work, has led blacks to develop a number of coping responses, including the school desegregation movement. These coping responses must be studied and understood if one wishes to understand why blacks behave the way they do in a specific school setting and in desegregated school settings. We now turn to consider some of the coping responses to segregation or inferior education and to unequal educational opportunity.

Education Desired, But Schools Distrusted

Blacks do not believe that their public school education is designed to educate their children as effectively as the schools educate white children. This perception has resulted in a relationship between black people (not just individual blacks) and the public schools that is characterized by conflict and distrust. It is important in this analysis, however, not to confuse the attitudes of blacks toward education *per se* with their attitudes toward the public schools as a societal institution controlled by white people. Blacks desire education but do not necessarily trust the schools as the societal institution entrusted with giving them that education because of the way the schools and whites who control them have traditionally treated blacks.

Historically, there have been many events in the black-white relationship that have left blacks with the feeling that whites and the institutions they control, including the public schools, cannot be trusted. As we saw in the last section, there are also many specific educational events that have left blacks with a similar feeling about the public schools in particular, namely, that the public schools cannot be trusted to educate black children. Blacks, for instance, view their initial exclusion from the public schools and subsequent segregation and inferior education as deliberatelydesigned to prevent them from qualifying for more desirable jobs open to whites. Consequently they have been "fighting" whites who control the schools and the schools themselves for better or "quality education." The impression we have gained from interviewing blacks of different social-class backgrounds and from the writings of blacks is that as a people, not just as individuals, blacks are more or less convinced that the public schools cannot be trusted to educate black children well.

An illustration of this distrust comes from our observation at a panel discussing the causes of overrepresentation of blacks in classes for the mentally retarded or special education classes. Blacks in the panel were more inclined to blame the schools, expressing dissatisfaction and frustration about the way schools treat black children, including the quality of instruction. They did not attribute the overrepresentation to biological characteristics of black children, to the home and family environments from which the children came, as white members of the panel were inclined to do.

Another illustration comes from our research in Stockton, California (1968-70). During the study we attended and tape-recorded all the public hearings on a local school desegregation plan. Black speakers were nearly unanimous in blaming the schools for the academic and behavioral problems of black students. In our interviews with local black leaders, including a local lawyer and a member of the school board, and with parents and students, we found the same pervasive element of distrust and hostility. And case studies of school desegregation in other parts of the country suggest that the hostility and distrust is a nation-wide phenomenon (see Clement and Livesay, 1980; Collins and Noblit, 1979; Kirp, 1976; Kluger, 1977). That the distrust of the public schools is shared by middle-class blacks is evident in their writings about the school situation (see Bullock, 1967; Clark, 1965, 1971; Wright, 1970; Freedomways, 1968). It is also shared by black school employees--teachers, counselors and administrators--although the latter do not generally feel free to express their personal views openly; nevertheless, our ethnographic interviews reveal that they do not trust public school policies and practices toward black children. One incident that occurred during our research in Stockton revealed the existence of this distrust and why black employees do not openly express their views. Following a "riot" at a predominantly minority high school in 1969, the school district conducted a staff seminar at which black and Chicano employees were encouraged to express openly what they thought was wrong with the way local schools and the school administration treated minorities.

The minority participants criticized the schools at the seminar in much the way they had in our ethnographic interviews. At the beginning of the following school year we noticed that the more vocal critics of the school system were either no longer in the school district or were not among those promoted to higher positions as a part of the concessions made to the minority communities in the settlement of the crisis. Complicating the matter, of course, is that black and Chicano school employees were often regarded by other blacks and Chicanos as representatives of "the system" who also could not be trusted.

We suggest that the nature of black-school relationship may make it difficult for blacks to teach their children effectively and for the children to acquire the beliefs, values, and attitudes that support the educational system and its assumptions and practices. Specifically, it may make it difficult for the children to accept and internalize school rules of behavior for achievement. Black children are also likely to be skeptical about what schools teach about the American economic system, especially the supporting beliefs, values, and attitudes. For these reasons, we think that to understand black children's school behavior, in desegregated settings or not--we need to know more about what kinds of cultural knowledge, beliefs, and attitudes they bring with them to school, their origins, and their relation to current behavior. The problem of trust is not confined to the educational system. It also extends to the political system and other institutions controlled by whites. For example, after reviewing extensive literature on political socialization of black children, Abramson (1977) concludes that black children do not trust American political system and political leaders as much as white children do. He then suggests that this distrust probably leads to non-support of the political system by adult blacks, a situation that may weaken black political influence.

Collective Struggle

Hostility and distrust are not the only responses arising from black perceptions and interpretations of the public schools' treatment of blacks. Another is the more organized effort to change the way the schools treat blacks and their education; desegregation is one of these organized efforts. However, the school desegregation movement is also part of a larger strategy used by blacks to attempt to break down the castelike barriers against them. Blacks call these efforts "collective struggle," while whites call them "civil rights activities." Blacks have long used this strategy to force or convince whites to change some aspect of racial stratification, such as to raise the job ceiling, to improve their schooling, and the like. The points to emphasize are (a) that blacks interpret segregated education as inferior education designed to prevent them from qualifying for the more desirable jobs and positions open to whites, and (b) that it is important to eliminate school segregation in order to achieve quality education for their children. That is, the primary objective of school desegregation for blacks is to achieve quality education. Regardless of the beliefs or epistemology of social scientists and regardless of what their ethically constructed instruments purport to measure, our understanding of the black perspective is that their primary interest in school desegregation is to achieve quality education that would enable their children do better in school in the conventional sense: obtain higher school marks, better school credentials, and, eventually get better jobs and wages. Their primary objective in demanding school desegregation is not to improve their self-concept or race relations, although they would welcome these additional benefits if they follow.

Job Ceiling, Disillusionment and Problem Of Effort Optimism

Black experiences in the labor market also affect their view of "the system," as has been repeatedly noted in preceeding sections. We have suggested elsewhere (Ogbu, 1978a; forthcoming a.) that faced with a job ceiling some blacks appear no longer to believe that the solution to their economic and other problems necessarily lies in education. Education, they say, is a part of the answer, and perhaps not the most important part. Because of perceptions of dismal future in the job market, many black youths (and others) often become disillusioned and subsequently "give up," not taking school seriously nor making serious efforts to do well in school. This situation is well described by Hunter (1980), a teenager from Wilmington, Delaware. The lack of a tradition of strong and visible linkage between schooling and adult success in jobs and wages, we therefore suggest, may have affected the attitudes of some segments of blacks toward academic striving. Children who grow up in a community where their parents, older siblings, and other adults are unemployed or underemployed because of what the people collectively perceive as the fault of "the system," such as the job ceiling, see little connection between schooling and the future. Moreover, as they learn directly from public demonstration and indirectly through gossip and other means, that the situation is caused by racial barriers, they may become disillusioned and give up trying to succeed through schooling. Again, this would discourage taking seriously the supporting beliefs and values and attitudes about "the system" as taught by the school. There are, of course, some who will react just the opposite by trying to "make it" in spite of "the system," by "working twice as hard as the white."

Survival Strategies And Incongruent Competencies

Still others may respond by adopting one or more other survival strategies, such as clientelism, hustling, pimping, or by withdrawing altogether from making personal efforts and turning to some form of public assistance or welfare. In some cases the kinds of attitudes and often manipulative skills or competencies that develop are not necessarily conducive to school success in the conventional sense.

All these perceptions, interpretations, and responses are part of the cultural influence which blacks probably bring to bear on the desegreation issue situation.

Desegregation

Prior to 1960 blacks wanted to desegregate the schools in the South primarily with three of four objectives in mind: to abolish the separate schools because these schools were unconstitutional and also symbolized inferior status of blacks; to enable black children to go to schools within a reasonable and convenient attendance area or distance like white children; to gain access to the same educational resources available to white children within the same community; and ultimately, to improve their chances of school success. Under this circumstance, the school desegregation situation meant for blacks a situation in which there were no separate schools designated by law specifically for blacks. Blacks and whites would attend the same schools within the attendance areas defined equally for convenience for both races. Furthermore, desegregation would make black education more equal to white education by eliminating the differences in building and physical facilities, distance travelled by children to school, curriculum, extra curricular activities, length of school year, teacher qualifications, and grading and promotion systems (Ashmore, 1954; Ogbu, 1978a; Bell, 1972; Weinberg, 1977).

In the North blacks also interpreted desegregation more or less in the same manner, as can be seen in various types of evidence presented at school board desegregation hearings or in court desegregation cases. Although segregated urban schools were not established by law, blacks have generally presented evidence to show that an official role at one level or another was involved in the development of segregated schools or that the definition of attendance boundaries for the convenience of the child has been manipulated so as to segregate black and white children. Furthermore, in spite of Coleman et al.'s (1966) conclusion that their survey found black and white schools nearly equal in resources, inequality has usually been found in careful studies of individual cities and in desegregation cases. For example, Sexton (1968: 228) reports that the appropriation for school operating expenses in Chicago in 1961 was almost 25% higher per pupil in white schools than in black schools, teacher salaries were were 18% higher, and "nonteaching operating expense"--clerical and maintenance, salaries, supplies, textbooks--were 50% higher. Table I shows other differences found by professor John E. Coons of the Northwestern University Law School for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

Table I: Comparison of Chicago Schools, 1962

Items	White Sch.	Integrated Sch.	Black Sch.
No. of schools studied	10	10	10
No. of pupils per classroom	30.95	34.95	46.8
Appropriation per pupil	$342.00	$320.00	$269.00
Percentage of uncertificated teachers	12	23	27
No. of books per pupil	5	3.5	2.5

Source: Drake, 1968: 121

In 1966 the NAACP Education Committee in San Francisco undertook to document similar disparities, particularly with regard to per pupil expenditure. The findings from that study led eventually to court order of the school district to desegregate (Kirp, 1976). In the desegregation trial in Washington, D.C., it was also shown that per pupil expenditure decreased as the number of black children in a school increased (Hughes and Hughes, 1973).

The point to be stressed here is that if one made a detailed and careful case study of desegregation--a study which would begin with blacks making a request to a school board to desegregate its schools or filing a lawsuit in the courts to achieve the same goal, to actual reassignment of students--the researcher will find that the dominant concern of blacks is equal education. In our ethnographic research in Stockton, California, we are fortunate to study various phases of the school desegregation movement in that community, particularly between 1968 and 1977. We had access to school board minutes where the first request for desegregation was made. We read reports of desegregation committees, attended nearly all the public hearingsconducted by the school board on the issue, tape-recorded the public hearings and transcribed and read the presentations by individuals and by groups, interviewed many of the key figures, obtained and read position papers and petitions of the various groups, and interviewed most parents in the neighborhood where our study was based and which had 92% black and Mexican-American children in the local elementary school. The general impression emerging from a preliminary analysis of our data is that blacks and Mexican-Americans who supported desegregation did so primarily because they believed that desegregation would enable their children to receive the same kind of education as white children on the other side of town. The underlying black assumption in Stockton, San Francisco, and elsewhere is that the chances are greater that their children will receive equal or quality education if they attend the same school and the same classes with white children. Many parents said that in a desegregated school and classroom, minority and white children would be exposed to the same curriculum materials and other resources and would most likely be treated alike by teachers and other school personnel.

Note, however, that the perspective on the desegregation situation given by these parents is not the same as that held by social scientists, which we may call interaction theory. For social scientists, by going to desegregated schools black children would be provided with an opportunity to interact in a mutually accepting manner with their white middle-class peers who would provide them with models of success in school and later life (Ogbu, 1978a, 1978b, 1979; see also U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967; U.S. Senate Committee Report, 1972). In Stockton, California, black and Mexican-American parents did not consider desegregated schools as a setting for that kind of interracial interaction. Their chief concern, as we have repeatedly said, was for quality education, and their definition of a desegregated school was a place where children obtained quality education or learned their basic skills.

In recent years some blacks appear to be changing their definition of the desegregation situation. This is because they have found that sending their children to schools with whites--to desegregated schools--has not led to quality education. Usually it has brought new problems or increased old ones. More black children are suspended; whites "flee" or leave the public schools; the schools respond, perhaps to prevent further white flight or to please the residual whites, by resegregating black and white children. The latter is done "legally" and "objectively" by increasing special education programs and classes for "the gifted" and "the retarded." White children dominate "the gifted," and blacks "the retarded." Kirp (1976: 602) sums up the situation in San Francisco as follows: "Classes for the gifted, hastily expanded with the adoption of the Horseshoe Plan, have a white enrollment proportion twice the district-wide average and a correspondingly small black enrollment. Blacks make up three-fifths, twice the district-wide average, of classes for the educable mentally retarded and educationally handicapped, traditional dumping grounds for difficult-to-manage or slow-learning pupils" (see also U.S. District Court for Northern California, 1979). Because of such developments, some blacks no longer believe that quality education can be achieved by merely going to the same schools and the same classes with white children. Consequently, the desegregation situation now means not only going to the same schools and the same classes with whites but also not being resegregated.

METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

This chapter has dealt mainly with the historical and structural context of school desegregation and how they affect the epistemology and responses of participants. To get at these things requires extended and detailed observations of events and people, interviews with participants and study of documents on history and the structure of the community. In other words, it requires the ethnographic method usually associated with anthropological research. At one level it means detailed case studies of school desegregation. For each case the ethnographer would live in the community for a reasonable length of time, get to know the participants both at school and in the community, to learn or understand their "language," their lifeways, especially epistemology and school behavior. Hopefully, the ethnographer will develop a good understanding of how the community is structured and "works," especially in relation to schooling. He or she comes to know these things through intense and almost continuous interaction with the people, through repeated observation of the same or different events, through interviews with different categories of people for specific information, and conversations for general knowledge of the community and its education, and through the study of local documents (Berreman, 1968; Ogbu, 1978b, 1981c). Only a few studies of school desegregation have used the ethnographic approach (see Clement et al., 1978;

Collins and Noblit, 1979: Cassell, 1978). From a cultural-ecological perspective the purpose of ethnography is to provide an accurate and full description of the desegregation situation based on direct observations and an intimate understanding of the participants' point of view. At another level a comparative analysis of several case studies will form the basis of generalizations about the desegregation situation.

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PART III

NEW THEORETICAL DIRECTIONS

THE MICRO-STRUCTURE OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Mark Granovetter

Studies of the effects of "desegregation" have produced a confusing array of inconsistent results. It is the general theme of this volume that this inconsistency derives from the actual wide variety of disparate situations too sweepingly subsumed under the vague rubric of desegregation. In retrospect this should not be surprising. The literature on intergroup relations is replete with studies showing that highly specific details of a situation rather than global attitudes toward other groups mainly determine behavior. Easy commingling in the workplace coexists with unyielding residential segregation; written requests for reservations from identified ethnic groups or mixed parties are frequently refused by establishments that accept such patrons readily when they appear in person (Pettigrew, 1971).

This paper explores in detail one of the most crucial situational determinants of behavior in desegregated settings: the structure of social relations among participants. Since desegregation is centrally defined around concern with such relations, one might suppose they would always have been a central focus of attention. I will argue that this has not been the case, and that failure to appreciate the complexity of issues related to the social structure of desegregation situations is a major cause of confusion.

Much of the paper analyzes the meaning and determinants of the structure of social relations in desegregated schools. This is justifiable in part because one frequently expressed goal of desegregation is an improvement in intergroup relations. I believe also, however, that even when other outcomes are considered, such as academic achievement and later socio-economic success, school social structure plays an important mediating role. The first part of the paper thus concentrates on social structure as such, and the second part considers that structure's role in other outcomes. A third section sketches how this relatively microscopic-level analysis of social structure and its outcomes is affected by the broader societal environment.

ANALYZING SOCIAL STRUCTURE

PROBLEMS IN THE LEVEL AND UNIT OF ANALYSIS, OR "WILL THE REAL DESEGREGATION SITUATION PLEASE STAND UP"?

It is hardly controversial to say that one ought to study social structure in desegregated schools. But what does this consist of? Have we studied social structure if we have all the students in a classroom name their three best friends, and then use a multivariate analysis to determine the correlates of

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I am indebted to Jomills Braddock, Robert Crain, Robert Liebman, Jeffrey Prager, and Stanley Katz for their detailed comments and suggestions.

number of choices received? (See, e.g., Gerard and Miller, 1975, Ch. 10.) Structural analysis refers not only to relations among individuals but also, and very crucially, to the structure of those relations. Focus on individual popularity yields an atomized view of social structure. If the classroom is a social system, one cannot see its structure in this way any better than one can imagine the outlines of a cow by looking at a hamburger. At the least one requires some attention to cliques, blocks, and linkages among such units.

If individuals are too low a level of analysis for exclusive focus, much the same can be said for classrooms. With rare exceptions, they are not isolated from one another, and what happens in one class affects what may happen in others. Desegregation studies frequently emphasize how strongly classroom teachers affect outcomes. But teachers interact with other teachers, aides, and school officials. Students' subordinate position in the school pecking-order probably explains why only they, not adults, are given sociometric "tests," but it is clear that this practice systematically discards information on one of the most important aspects of school social structure--that of adults. Where such structure involves hierarchy or cliques, much of what occurs in classrooms may be shaped by these, and in turn affect teachers' social relations.

Where a teachers' clique is dominated by a particular teaching "philosophy," for example, one might expect classroom practices consistent with this philosophy to receive strong social support. Metz (1978) studied two junior high schools. In one, faculty "culture" was "divided into two bitterly opposed factions," one devoted to traditional classroom practices, the other more "modern." She reports that teachers in this school were much less flexible in their approach than those in the other school she studied who, though they had similar philosophies, were not members of cliques defined by adherence to a set of ideas. What I suggest here is that teachers in the first school received social support for their practices and felt social pressures to maintain them, while neither support nor pressure was felt in the second. The result was a great difference in school "climate" and classroom practice.

The classroom is not only too low a level of analysis to give a rounded structural picture--it is also a highly artificial unit for the study of children's social relations. Because the classroom physically structures school activity, it is usually the main focus of desegregation analysis. But is it a natural or reasonable sociometric unit? Karweit et al (1979:13) comment that "we have no empirical evidence on whether most student friendships are actually formed and maintained inside or outside of classrooms."

What level of desegregation actually obtains depends on one's definition of what unit of analysis constitutes the "desegregation situation." Schools nominally integrated may have classrooms that are de facto segregated; this "classroom resegregation" occurs more "in localities and educational levels where school desegregation has progressed most" (Morgan and McPartland, 1981:13). But even where classrooms are "resegregated," one needs to know also whether out-of-class interactions are comparably divided. Conversely, though classes are integrated, desegregation may be less than meets the eye. Rist (1978) noticed that black students from several first-grade classes congregated on the playground, apparently because there were so few of them within each class. Segregation was thus reconstituted at an extra-classroom level which would escape the purview of classroom sociometrics. Ethnographic observations also make clear that considerable interaction occurs in the interstices of formal school activity--in hallways, bathrooms, stairwells, courtyards and playgrounds, only the least of these easily observable by teachers or researchers. "You better walk with me. I've been through this before. The hallway's the worst, and whatever you do, don't go to the bathroom." So advised an experienced black student, counselling a friend at her first day in South Boston's newly desegregated high school (Bullard and Stoia, 1980:30; see also Huckaby, 1980, passim). Though it may account for a quantitatively small part of the day, time spent out of classrooms in school is opportunity for spontaneous, unsupervised social interaction among children, and may thus be more important for shaping social relations than what happens in the classroom, particularly when teaching is carried out in traditional lecture style, each student interacting with the teacher, and with one another only at the risk of penalties for deviant behavior.

In junior high and high school settings, extra-curricular activities become a particular focus of out-of-class student interaction, and may take on greater significance for many students than the formal educational process. Though it is frequently noted that these activities tend to sort by race and sex--so that segregation is recreated at the small-group level--we have little insight into how this occurs, a question I return to later.

Even the school itself does not fully bound childrens' social interaction; yet, what happens out of school is persistently neglected. This occurs in part because of the traditional division of labor between sociologists/psychologists of education and other researchers, and in part because classroom sociometry is so enormously more manageable and convenient than pursuing children into their neighborhoods, where there is no natural unit comparable to the classroom, no predictable place of assembly, and little chance of appending the school's authority to one's research. Students consequently vanish from view when they cross the school-neighborhood boundary. Little is known about the social networks of children outside of school settings. (See Foot et al., 1980, for accounts of recent research.)

But this may be important. Though anthropologists are aware of the significance of "multiplex" ties--relations reinforced by appearing in more than one setting or type of interaction--classroom sociometrics abstract away from this. Thus we have no way of knowing to what extent observed relations result from interactions outside of class or of school. Once this issue is taken seriously, a whole new constellation of questions arises, which links the school and its students to broader levels of social structure. We know, for instance, if we have children, that parents inevitably meet the parents of their childrens' friends. Do children also meet the children of their parents' friends? If this is a significant source of sociality, then whatever forces impact parents' social worlds spill over also into their childrens'. How school relations link up with those outside is strongly conditioned by where the school fits in a neighborhood ecology. An extreme case is where ethnically defined "turfs" bear heavily on the formation of out-of-school friendships (Suttles, 1968), so that intergroup contacts, even if initiated in school, cannot progress to multiplex contexts. All these factors in turn affect childrens' summer social structure, of which almost nothing is known. Heyns' (1978) evidence suggests for Atlanta that most organized summer activities are more segregated by both class and race than are the public schools. One might suppose then that informal activities would be all the more so. But how this relates to the overall urban ecology or to school-year friendship ties can only be guessed. Heyns' data are too indirect and too aggregated to shed light on such questions.

Patchen's (1982:62-66) data on eleven Indianapolis high schools in 1971 show that school-year interaction across races outside of school was "far from unusual. Almost half the students of each race said that they had done things together with other-race schoolmates outside of school at least once or twice that semester." About one out of nine reported that this had occurred ten or more times. About one third had visited the home of an other-race student or had been so visited--compared to about half for same-race students--a much smaller differential than one might have expected. In answer to a question about the composition of the "informal group of friends . . . with whom you hang around a lot, or with whom you do things pretty often," of those who acknowledged belonging to such a group (about two-thirds of students) more than one in four reported the group to be racially mixed. If these data are in any way typical of other cities, it is hard to escape the conclusion that much of what happens to race relations within the school is intertwined with out-of-school social structure.

There is still another boundary which observers of school social structure do not cross: that between students and teachers. The obvious fact that the two groups are part of the same social system does not intrude on the practice of studying the two groups quite separately. But which students like which teachers and vice versa have crucial effects on what happens in the classroom. When Mr. Brown expects the worst from James because he heard from Mrs. Green, who had him in class last year, that he is a "trouble-maker"--and such conversation is a staple of teachers' lounge gossip--we have hard evidence that the co-presence of teachers and students in the same system of social relations must be taken seriously. The fate of James in Mr. Brown's classroom will depend not only on his IQ or his motivation, but also on which other teachers Mr. Brown talks to when he is puzzled about how to interpret James' behavior, and what relations those teachers have had to him and to James.

It is not only students who have reputations. Student gossip at all levels of education has as a choice topic the relative abilities, habits, and eccentricities of teachers. There are few classes where students begin the year with no preconceptions about the new teacher. "Information" from older siblings and friends sets up initial conditions that may have year-long effects. Teacher training emphasizes the importance of setting the right "tone" in the first few days (the "don't smile until Christmas" strategy), but little research has addressed the question of how students' behavior and preconceptions shape these outcomes.

In everyday school activity, then, students and teachers continually assess and rank-order one another by various criteria, and these rank-orders affect behavior. But researchers only ask children how they rank-order one another. Perhaps it is time to ask children which teachers in the school they like best, and to combine this information with teachers' assessments of children, of one another, and with the traditional children-children information, to get a more rounded picture of what happens in the school.

THE PRACTICE OF STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS

The difficulties of choosing appropriate units and levels of analysis are severe, and my comments in the previous section are only a beginning of their solution. Nevertheless, I want now to abstract away from those difficulties, to discuss in more detail the practice of structural analysis in the desegregated school setting.

A preliminary comment is in order on measurement: there has been almost no attempt to measure the actual segregation of school social relations with any procedure comparable across settings. Investigators have instead contented themselves with off-hand statements to the effect that there was very little interracial interaction, without reference to any clear baseline expectation. Where measures of segregation have been used, they are of the highly aggregated kind reviewed by Rose in this volume; these indexes of "dissimilarity" or "exposure" do not indicate actual levels of cross-race interaction.

Where sociometric data exist, it would be logical to use them to indicate such levels. Freeman (1978) suggests an index of segregation based on the extent to which actually observed relations between groups exceed what one would expect, given actual absolute numbers of each group, if choices were made without regard to race. (See also Blau 1977, Chs. 2 and 4, for extensive analysis of the significance of relative numbers for interaction between members of two groups.) If, for example, we had 20 blacks and 80 whites in a group, each of the blacks could interact with any of the whites, and so there are 1600 possible cross-race pairs. In the total group of 100, there are (100 x 99)/2 possible pairs, which is 4950. If relations were random, therefore, we would expect 1600/4950 to be cross-race, that is, 32%. Suppose we observe 120 social relationships in this group. If race were not a factor in choosing, we would expect 32% of these 120 relations to be cross-race, or 38.8. Suppose we observe that only 12 are. Freeman proposes that we take as the extent of segregation the proportional deviation from random expectation, that is, (38.8-12)/38.8=.69. This measure can be used to compare groups. It reaches 1.0 only when segregation is complete, and is 0.0 when the number of cross-race links is exactly what would be expected by chance. Negative values indicate cross-group choosing in excess of chance: that is, a preference for other-group members rather than one's own. Formally, if N is total group size, B the number of blacks, W the number of whites, C the number of observed cross-race relations, T the observed total number of relations, and S the segregation index, we have:

$$S = 1 - \left[\frac{(C)\ (N)\ (N-1)}{(T)\ (B)\ (W)\ (2)} \right]$$

Such a measure presupposes the existence of sociometric data, but there are a number of complex methodological and substantive issues concerning the collection of such data that need to be discussed. I now turn to these.

Consider first the use of fixed-choice sociometric procedures, where respondents must name some exact number of others (usually three). Despite ample evidence that such procedures distort the data of actual relations in ways that are difficult to correct (Holland and Leinhardt, 1973), they are commonly used in desegregation research. Distortions are of two kinds: overstatement of the number of relations for isolated individuals, and understatement for those with many friends and acquaintances. In effect, this format homogenizes data which may actually be rather heterogeneous.

It also makes the discovery of weak ties unlikely. This is consistent with the rather narrowly atomized theoretical focus which I criticized in the previous section, since weak ties are of less interest at the diadic level where they occur than at the level of a larger social system where they have more profound consequences. As I have argued elsewhere (Granovetter, 1973, 1982), weak ties play a crucial role in structural cohesion because our acquaintances are less likely to know one another and more likely to know strangers to us than our close friends. They are thus our bridge to social circles different from our own. From a larger perspective, this implies that insofar as various social circles are connected, it is precisely through weak ties. It may therefore be a tactical error to focus exclusively on strong dyadic interracial ties as the sociometric criterion for successful desegregation (as in, e.g., Clement et al., 1979). Following this line of argument, Karweit et al. (1979) have suggested that the key to successful desegregation may, in fact, lie in the stimulation of weak rather than strong interracial ties--promising, if true, since the former are easier to stimulate than the latter (see, e.g., Hansell et al., 1981). Karweit et al. (1979:20) raise the possibility that "racial integration in the classroom can be achieved by arranging classroom structures to produce enough weak contacts to connect black and white cliques, rather than by encouraging strong biracial friendships," and they suspect that the emphasis on strong ties is related to the view that assimilation is the desired end of desegregation. "A more realistic and sensitive result," they suggest, "given existing cultural diversity, would be to foster diversity without conflict and isolation. Thus an alternative, perhaps more desirable peer structure would be one in which diverse cultures can exchange information and support without necessarily becoming more similar" (Karweit et al., 1979:19).

I would add that a related difficulty with the use of strong cross-race ties as a success criterion is that blacks who become close friends with whites may do so at the expense of their ties to other blacks, becoming integrated into white cliques (see Granovetter, 1973: 1368-1369). St. John (1975, see also Leinnardt, 1972) has observed that the tendency to form cliques among adolescents makes desegregation more difficult than among younger children. Cliques tend to be homogeneous and exclusive in membership, and the addition of a black to a formerly all-white clique on the assimilationist terms I have suggested does not really connect the races. Stable acquaintanceship ties between blacks and whites may be less likely to generate this outcome and thus be more valuable as actual intergroup links.

Adolescent cliques that might bring great pressure against a member with "too many" other-race friends, and that might ultimately break off relations with such a member, should be more tolerant to the extent these relations are seen as acquaintanceships. Even more important, as the number of such weak ties grows, one would expect norms on the permissibility of other-race friends to moderate. Such norms are not etched in stone, but evolve as function of previous behavior and existing social structure. Where no one in a group has other-race friends, the first person to do so stands out rather sharply and is especially vulnerable to peer pressure. As such friendships become more common, the level of deviance involved is arguably less, and the individual can find more social support. Norms on racial contact may be more fragile than they appear, and even the establishment of ties so weak as to be barely perceptible may shake them. In his Children of Crisis, Coles describes an Atlanta high school, early in school integration, where only two black girls were enrolled in an otherwise all-white school. The girls were ostracized by the white students until late in the year. Coles' interview of George, a white student, includes the following account. "One day in April she dropped her lab notebook ... and before he could think about it he had picked it up. One of his friends ridiculed him and called him a traitor .... He reminded his friend what it was like for her every day of the year .... The friend was glad that George had talked to him, because like George he had not been without secret sympathy for Lois. He confessed to George that recently he had let her go before him ... and then he looked around nervously; if seen he would be known to everyone as a 'mixer' .... Only a month or two earlier pointed rudeness to Lois in just such situations was a virtual necessity" (Coles, 1964:133). On graduation day, George recalled, "a couple of girls just felt sorry for her or something. They walked up to her and started talking, and before you knew it they were exchanging autographs .... Soon a few more came up to her, and then a couple of guys started laughing at them and calling them 'nigger lover', but no one moved an inch or stopped talking with Lois, and just about everyone around suddenly joined in and told the guys to shut up and leave. You might have thought Lois was some big star or something ...." (Coles, 1964: 137-138).

This is not to deny the power of existing peer-group norms concerning racial mixing. Students often assert that they have few other-race friends on account of pressure from their friends against such relationships, and there is no reason to doubt their account. Patchen (1982) reports, for example, that the amount of friendly contact with blacks reported by whites in Indianapolis high schools increases sharply with the proportion black in their classes--except for those whites that report negative racial attitudes among their peers. Similarly, the number of classes in which whites were members of small interracial student groups working together on some project was highly correlated with friendly contact and with friendship between the races, but the effect was strong only when whites' peers had positive racial attitudes, much weaker for intermediate attitudes, and almost negligible for those whose peers were negative. These findings indicate that, other things equal, the proportion of other-race people available to interact with will have strong impact on how many cross-race friendships and acquaintanceships form. This is hardly surprising, since the more members of one's own class or work group are other-race individuals, the more trouble it is to confine one's interaction to those who are not. In the absence of any strong motivation for such confinement, it is easier to become friendly with those just at hand. This is the underlying rationale for random baseline measures of interactional segregation like Freeman's (1978), discussed above. Strong peer-group norms against such interactions can impose a sufficient cost to motivate whatever effort is necessary to avoid them.

Patchen's data make clear, however, that not all adolescent groups have such norms, and I have already suggested above that those which do may not continue to indefinitely. The really interesting theoretical and practical question is what kinds of circumstances, situations, and behaviors lead such group norms to change or to develop in one group and not another. To argue as I have that norms are modified by social contact, as well as affecting such contact, is not new in the study of intergroup relations (see, e.g., Pettigrew, 1971). But the general principle offers little guidance in the crucial task of demonstrating in detail how this occurs. I return later to this theme in my discussion of the dynamics of mixing and sorting.

Thus far I have argued that the use of free-choice sociometric procedures and analysis of weak as well as strong ties will broaden the structural picture beyond that of the individual and pair. Another related route to this result is to consider the impact of indirect ties. Who is known by one's friends significantly conditions relationships and activities. If black students, for example, have white friends who are isolates, the impact is quite different from where the white friends have themselves a rich set of other white contacts. The possible multiplier effects of a friendship are much greater in the latter case.

The existence of such multiplier effects should be taken into account in planning interventions intended to increase cross-race contact. There is, for example, considerable evidence that breaking students up into teams within the classroom, that work together in some way, helps to generate more cross-race friendships. This finding seems more or less independent of whether the teams are structured internally in a cooperative or competitive way (Slavin and Hansell, 1981). Little is known in detail, however, about how this sociometric outcome develops. Slavin and Hansell (1981:28) point out that the "impact of cooperative learning almost certainly involves networks of friendship rather than simply dyadic friendships." They report one particular intervention analyzed in unusual detail, indicating that "many of the new cross-racial friendships ... formed between students who had never been in the same cooperative group" (1981:29). "In theory," they comment, "this should not happen; after all, the teams are usually in competition with each other. ... However, once a cross-racial friendship is formed, the new friend's friends (of his or her race) become likely candidates as friends as well. In other words, if a white boy makes his first black friend, this relationship bridges formerly isolated black and white peer groups, and opens up an entirely new pool of potential black friends, even possibly reaching beyond the confines of a particular classroom" (1981:29). Because the original research design was not geared to such considerations, the authors could only speculate. It is important to understand indirect effects of these kinds more systematically.

In another interesting speculation on indirect effects, Karweit et al. (1979:26) suggest that the "path distance" between a student and school activity leaders--i.e., the smallest number of links needed to connect the two--may have significant impact on the ultimate likelihood of participation. Black students with white friends who are not themselves central in extra-curricular activities, but whose friends are, may be less likely to be alienated from such activities than those with no indirect contact at all.

Standard sociometric procedures may also be faulted for reducing the richness of social life to a single relation: friendship. Multiple types of relations characterize real situations and must be considered. Enmity is as important as friendship, in real life, and figures prominently in ethnographic accounts of some desegregated schools. Yet I know of only one study that studies negative relations systematically. Patchen (1982) found that unfriendly contact between races was common but was uncorrelated with friendly contact. That is, students reporting unfriendliness were just as likely also to report friendly cross-race contact as were those with no unfriendly experiences.

These findings help us see a more complex picture of social relations than our simple stereotypes. It is not that some white and black students have friendly cross-race relations and that others are hostile. In reality, students make much more refined differentiations than "other-race person," as the myriad details of other individuals' personalities overwhelm the initially more salient racial difference. "Time after time," Patchen notes, "a student would describe a warm and friendly relationship with one schoolmate of the other race and then go on to describe a fight or argument with another student of that race" (1982:73). Moreover, it may be hasty to interpret hostile cross-race relations as mainly race-related. Patchen found that "by far the strongest predictor of unfriendly contact was the student's general aggressiveness. Put another way, those students who fought and argued most with schoolmates of their own race also fought and argued most with students of the other race" (1982:221).

Many other kinds of relations contribute to the rich texture of actual everyday interaction in schools: bullying, dominating, provoking or "testing" (e.g., Schofield and Sagar, 1979), tutoring and mutual helping, tattling (Rist, 1978), and respecting. As compared to "best friend" questions, many of these more specific relationships may be comparatively weak, and one way of capturing the importance of weak ties, in addition to allowing students to name as many friendship choices as they like, is also to be sensitive to the rich array of actual, specialized relationships.

Until recently, data on several types of relationships in one group could only be analyzed one relation at a time. The advent of "block-modelling" techniques makes it possible to treat multiple relations simultaneously rather than separately (White et al., 1976; Arabie et al., 1978). These techniques partition the population into mutually exclusive "blocks" of people. People in each block have similar patterns of relations with other blocks and within their own. People in block A, for example, might all be similar in that they like people in block B but not those in C, and are liked by those in C and A, but not B. In other words, similarity in relations given and received is the criterion for being put together into a block.

This is superior to the usual clique-finding in two ways. First, it is more general. Members of a block may have relations to one another and in this respect be indistinguishable from a more conventional clique, but this is only a special case. Block-modelling recognizes that the more general issue is whether individuals are in a structurally similar position. Second, the same partition is used for more than one relation. When passing from positive to negative relations, for example, it is unlikely that the same cliques would persist. But it is common to be able to find a block-model--a partition of the population into blocks--which is valid for both relations. An example from White et al., 1976 (also discussed in Arabie et al., 1978) will illustrate the procedure. The data come from seventeen men studied by Newcomb (1961). Block-modelling techniques reduced the seventeen into three sets, with data on both liking and antagonism. In the matrices below, a one in the ij cell indicates that members of block i have the given relation to members of block j; a zero indicates no such relation between the two.

$$\begin{array}{ccc} & & \underline{\text{LIKING}} \\ & & \underline{\text{Block}} \\ & & \begin{array}{ccc} 1 & 2 & 3 \end{array} \\ \text{Block} & \begin{array}{c} 1 \\ 2 \\ 3 \end{array} & \begin{bmatrix} 1 & 0 & 0 \\ 0 & 1 & 0 \\ 1 & 0 & 0 \end{bmatrix} \end{array} \qquad \begin{array}{ccc} & & \underline{\text{ANTAGONISM}} \\ & & \underline{\text{Block}} \\ & & \begin{array}{ccc} 1 & 2 & 3 \end{array} \\ \text{Block} & \begin{array}{c} 1 \\ 2 \\ 3 \end{array} & \begin{bmatrix} 0 & 0 & 1 \\ 0 & 0 & 1 \\ 0 & 0 & 1 \end{bmatrix} \end{array}$$

Inspection of the block-models makes the underlying sociometric pattern clear. Blocks 1 and 2 report liking only within their own blocks; these are cliques in the traditional sense. Both report disliking only members of Block 3. Members of Block 3 like only members of Block 1, not one another, suggesting that Block 1 has somewhat higher status in the group than 2; Block 3 members share the other two blocks' low opinion of themselves and are thus by all accounts low on the totem pole in this group, the only set of people disliked by anyone. What is interesting about this example is how quickly one can get a picture of this group's social structure by observing the block-model pattern on both kinds of relationship. It is the combination which fleshes out the picture and gives a much more accurate feeling of what is happening than could be gotten from the analysis of one relationship alone. When three, four or more relationships are used, the picture obtained may be that much richer, albeit more complex and ambiguous. Reading off the block-model information allows the analyst to recover the kind of insight about the group which ordinarily requires intense and prolonged ethnographic observation.

There is no simple prescription for exactly which relationships ought to be put into block-models for a given group. That decision requires the investigator to have enough familiarity with the group to be able to classify all observed interactions into a manageable set of relational types. In one setting, helping, encouraging, and handslapping might all be assimilable to the more general notion of "liking" or "positive affect." In another, the distinctions might be significant. Some relations, like teasing, are ambiguous as to whether they are mainly positive or negative. The observer must make a judgment of what kinds of interaction are most significant in shaping the social structure at hand and which are sufficiently similar to be classified together, before further analysis is possible. It is not profound to say this, but is nevertheless important, since researchers who simply use "best friends" as the sociometric criterion are implicitly making a decision about what relations are important in that group. Such decisions must be made explicitly, and recognized as real decisions.

THE HISTORICITY OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Thus far I have talked as if it were sufficient to analyze properly the present situation to understand desegregation outcomes. But appearances can be misleading when one doesn't know from what historical sequence they derive. Social structure does not come out of the air. It is in constant flux and results from previous social structure. Nevertheless, historical and dynamic considerations are typically neglected in favor of snapshots. I will try to demonstrate, in what follows, some of the hazards of this neglect.

Analyses of the desegregation situation often report that within classrooms and in extra-curricular activities, students sort themselves into racially separate groups. The detailed dynamics of how this occurs, however, are not reported and probably not observed, though it is often noticed that students who attempt to contravene already-established patterns of sorting, by joining an extra-curricular activity dominated by the other race or sitting with members of the other racial group in the classroom or cafeteria, are subjected to strong pressures from their own-race friends. It is easy to conclude from this that the sorting, supported by norms against mixing, also resulted from such norms. But, as I observed above, such norms are easiest to uphold precisely in the extreme segregated situation, and other norms might operate if the sorting had not occurred.

What I want to suggest here is the possible value of extremely detailed observation of the process by which school spaces and activities get sorted--a process akin to that described as "tipping" in studies of neighborhood segregation. Models constructed by Schelling (1971, 1978) and by myself (Granovetter, 1978; see also Granovetter and Soong, 1980) suggest that the interplay between individual motives and preferences, and collective outcomes, can be quite complex, and that it may be extremely misleading to try to infer motives from outcomes, since a given outcome may result from a wide variety of different distributions of motives. Conversely, sets of people with almost identical preferences may generate entirely different outcomes.

In my 1978 article, I give the following example. Imagine that a hundred people are milling around in some potential riot situation, and that each person can be characterized by a "threshold"--a number of others he or she would have to see join a riot before he or she would also join. Suppose further that these hundred people had thresholds distributed uniformly, as follows: one at threshold 0 (the "instigator"), one at threshold 1, one at 2, one at 3, etc., up to one at 99. The final outcome here is that all hundred riot, since the person with threshold 0 begins, which activates the person with threshold 1, which activates the person with threshold 2, etc. Now, change the crowd as follows. Remove the person with threshold 1 and replace him or her by someone with threshold 2. This new crowd is almost identical, but now, after the instigator riots, there is no crowd member with a threshold as low as 1, so no one further joins. Observers of the two incidents would probably assume that the crowds were completely different: the first made up of "radicals" or "troublemakers" or "riffraff" (depending on the situation and one's prejudices), and the second of solid citizens--with one exception, presumably an outside agitator. But we know, instead, that the crowds were essentially identical, and that it was only a peculiarity in the exact shape of the distribution of thresholds which led to such different outcomes. In my paper, and in Granovetter and Soong (1980), it is shown that this phenomenon is quite general, not confined to the particular numbers chosen here for illustration.

Schelling's (1971, 1978) related analyses of segregation can be adapted to the case of extra-curricular activities as follows. Suppose an activity starts out 50% white and 50% black, and that while different students have different levels of tolerance for being in the racial minority, most would be quite happy to take part in an activity that was moderately integrated. Suppose the activity becomes 51% white and 49% black. The problem is that if there are even a handful of black students who have no tolerance for minority status in the activity, and who therefore now leave, their leaving reduces the proportion of blacks still further--perhaps to 40%. There may now be blacks who were content at 49% but leave at 40%, further reducing the proportion of blacks. As this occurs, whites who were not willing to join an activity 51% white, but to whom 60% is acceptable may now join, increasing the proportion white. The "domino" effect described here may not end until a very high level of segregation has occurred, even though hardly anyone in the initial group wanted such a level. Again, it is not the attitudes or preferences of participants in this model which generate segregation, but rather the exact distribution of these preferences and how they are implemented over time. Schelling's (1978) analyses of segregation in hypothetical neighborhoods yield similar results, but with a spatial dimension that may be relevant to classroom seating patterns when students are given freedom to sit where they like.

Not all activities or schools experience racial "tipping." Most extra-curricular activities in Indianapolis high schools that Patchen (1982) studied were, by teachers' reports, integrated. Only 12% were all white or black, though another 17% were reported to be more than 95% one race. It appears, moreover, that those activities that were integrated made some difference in social relations, since "greater extra-curricular participation is one of the very best predictors of more friendly contact with other-race schoolmates," and is associated with friendship as well (Patchen, 1982:191). For whites, the larger the average proportion black in their activities, the more friendships they report with blacks.

Certain activities recur in ethnographic reports as unusually likely to be integrated. In Memphis, Collins (1979) reports that the band was unique in its easy racial mixing and that friendships even carried over to the lunchroom--the only consistent racial mixing there. In a northern high school, Scherer and Slawski (1979) report that most activities were segregated, but the band was a marked exception, showing high levels of interracial contact. In a New York City high school, Sullivan (1979) reports ethnic mixing especially in the theatre club.

One cannot rule out the possibility that these patterns occur because of self-selection of students with relaxed racial attitudes into "arty" activities. But the discussion of tipping may also be relevant. If students are sensitive to the proportion of their own racial group involved in an activity, then the size of the overall group is significant. Activities with small numbers might "tip" more easily and, for this reason, be more prone to be "tipped" as a matter of deliberate political manipulation by any ethnic group which feels that it must "capture" activities to assert status in the school. Band and theatre groups, by contrast, may be among the larger activities in a high school.

Furthermore, partly on account of size, partly from the intensity of the activity, band and theatre groups are relatively closed and self-sustaining islands of interaction in the school. Once integrated, such groups can therefore sustain norms which permit integration to continue. Scherer and Slawski (1979:146) comment that the "high levels of interracial contact in the band are possible because of the high status that band members have ... and because the band constitutes a closed society ... that supports its own norms," in a school where there are generally strong norms against crossing racial lines.

In a rather general conceptual way, the idea of relatively self-contained "islands" of interaction within the school structure, where genuine integration can flourish, may be quite important. This point can be illustrated by the dynamics of sorting in classroom seating. Schofield and Sagar (1979:187) noticed that there was more interracial interaction among children who "share a table than among the same children when they are assigned to sit next to one another in individual chairs with writing arms." I suggest that this may occur because some such tables become self-defined "neighborhoods," islands of integration.

Consider a classroom with no tables, only individual seats, where children choose their own. Suppose, as Schelling does in his model of neighborhoods, that children are mainly sensitive to the racial proportions in a "neighborhood" that each defines with him or herself at the center--that is, who sits in front, in back, and to his or her sides. Even if most children are satisfied with the racial balance in their vicinity, just a few malcontents can have enormous impact. As they leave their previous seats to find an area with more of their own race, they make both their old and new neighborhood more racially homogeneous. Doing so may create a situation where some who were previously content now are in too much of a minority for their taste, and these will now also shift. Each such shift, perhaps one day at a time, not only creates more segregation in seating, but also leads to more such shifts, until segregation may be complete. This may occur even if there was initially only a single area of the classroom where anyone was dissatisfied; the "wave" of tipping originating in this area has rippled through the room.

This is possible because each student's neighborhood overlaps that of each other student, which can happen only where such neighborhoods are self-defined. Where tables define the relevant neighborhood, however, and all students at a table are satisfied with the racial balance, what happens at other tables is irrelevant. As tables become small social systems, they may discourage entry by individuals dissatisfied at other tables, especially to the extent they have an already satisfactory equilibrium and have begun to generate their own norms for interracial behavior, corresponding to their own actual situation. Thus, even if a few tables do undergo racial tipping, the effects will be confined to those, rather than overwhelming the entire room.

My argument here was suggested in part by Boorman and Levitt's (1980) mathematical treatment of a problem in population biology: how is it possible that there exist species whose members act altruistically toward one another, given that such behavior will decrease one's own survival possibilities except in situations where most other species members also behave the same way? Genes favoring such behavior would be selected against in the early stages of evolution since they would not be dominant in the population. They point out that the usual models are based on a homogeneously mixing population, in which case the initial frequency of such a gene would indeed have to be improbably high before it could spread. They note, however, that real populations do not mix homogeneously, but rather are split up into more or less closed islands of interaction, with some connections among islands. The conditions for the social gene to become dominant in just a few such small islands are less stringent, and so a few may "tip" in this direction. Then, if the level of contact among islands is just right--neither too small nor too large--the social trait may spread to other islands and eventually become dominant in the overall population. What is crucial is that the decoupling of the population breaks the process down into two steps: the fixation of sociality on islands, and then the cascade of the trait through the set of islands. The possibility of such a cascade arises for far smaller concentrations of the relevant genes than would be the case if the population were homogeneous.

The Boorman-Levitt model is not only mathematically complex but depends for its exact results on various assumptions which are specialized to genetics and obviously not appropriate in our context. Nevertheless, the general line of argument has a certain plausibility in a wide variety of situations. They suggest, for example, that one "area that invites cascade analysis is the historical development of social structures in late feudal Western Europe, where extreme barriers to other than local communication tended to make each town an island weakly connected to other islands by exchange of migrant travelers. For reasons familiar from the present cascade analysis, this pattern may have set boundary conditions making possible social changes that would not have been realized in political or social systems of a more centralized or freely communicating type ..." (Boorman and Levitt, 1980:363).

In the context of school desegregation, the argument would be similar. It is unlikely, beginning from a situation of social segregation and norms against cross-race friendships, that a school with no clearly defined or bounded activities could generate a substantial level of integration. Any subgroup which veered in that direction would be subject to intense pressure because of its completely open and permeable boundaries. Only relatively well-defined islands of interaction--be they defined by spatial relations within a classroom, by assignment to cooperative work groups, or by the contents of a particular extra-curricular activity--would be likely to swim against the stream and develop real social integration. If such groups were truly islands--in the sense that members were quite out of contact with non-members--there would be little overall effect on the school at large. But with a moderate level of contact among such islands and the rest of the school population--perhaps divided into other islands with the more typically segregated peer groups--this new situation might spread. The mechanism for spread would be related to my earlier discussion of multiplier effects and to the likely attenuation of strong norms which are placed into intimate contact with other norms wholly inconsistent.

From a policy viewpoint, the implication of this argument would be that creating small integrated structures of interaction might have a ripple effect far greater than that which might be expected only from changes in individual attitudes within those structures. For the analyst trying to understand the process of sorting racially segregated or mixed groups, the lesson is the necessity of observing in some detail the exact historical sequence of social structures within a school, with special sensitivity to the existence of sheltered enclaves which may then spread social change. Snapshots of this process at some end point, or even at successive points in time, are unlikely to yield much insight without some explicit argument about the nature of the dynamic process in operation.

The time element introduced thus far in this section is one of relatively brief duration. Indeed, the fact that tipping phenomena occur so quickly probably accounts for their invisibility in the analysis of school desegregation. But the historicity of social structure extends further into the past as well, in ways that need to be taken account of. Though some studies of desegregation situations have been longitudinal, they have still not taken the historical imbeddedness of social structure seriously enough. The social structure of students and teachers, in a school which begins desegregation, already has a history, one which affects future outcomes.

Collins (1979:102) points out, for example, that in the Memphis high school he studied, when the black students arrived there was already in place a "clique of [white] students who had been together from first grade on, and they were well organized. Even the white students who arrived from a different junior high school had difficulty gaining any prominence...." Standard sociometric procedures would identify such a clique but miss the historical dimension that gave it its strength and meaning.

How common such long-standing structures of relations are is worth asking, as it may affect desegregation results in important ways. Understanding this issue requires detailed attention to the extent and patterns of children's mobility between schools and school systems over a period of some years before the desegregation situation to be analyzed (see St. John, 1975:5). This is inextricably linked to patterns of residential mobility, as well as to administrative policies concerning which lower schools feed into which higher ones and how school boundaries are drawn. Such factors are obscured by a focus on one point in time or on a period beginning with but not antedating desegregation.

The intent of these comments is not to argue that longstanding social structures in place at the outset of desegregation necessarily impede that process, though that seems to be the case in Collins' account. If that longstanding structure were one already desegregated, the opposite might well be true. Patchen (1982:219) found that "for students of both races, ... friendly interracial contact in the neighborhood prior to high school and in grade school contributed to more friendly interracial contact in high school .... [T]he combined effect of friendly contact in the neighborhood and in grade school was substantial." Unfortunately, since this study did not ask students about specific relationships, we cannot determine to what extent this correlation results from the impact of early integration on attitudes, as against the simple possibility of continuation into high school of the same interracial friendships begun earlier. Now that the importance of this historical dimension has been established, future studies should ask more explicitly whether existing interracial ties are newly created or held over from earlier experience.

Existing structures of relations, then, may have either negative or positive impacts. In either case they closely constrain what outcomes are likely. Students who know each other already will not respond mainly to such abstract matters as racial proportions, as suggested in models of racial tipping, but will instead be more closely attuned to individual identities and previous relationships, in deciding where to sit or what activities to join. Where existing relations are absent, as in a new town, outcomes might be more volatile and unpredictable. Everything must be sorted out from scratch, and the dynamics of mixing and sorting take place in their purest form, with all the complexity I have suggested they can entail.

THE IMPACT OF "SUCCESSFUL" DESEGREGATION

Suppose that by "successful" desegregation we mean at least some moderate amount of interracial friendship and reduction of cross-racial intolerance. It hardly needs belaboring that a reduction in ethnic animosity--an increased openness to individuals and cultures of other groups--is intrinsically a benefit worth pursuing. In this section I will focus, rather, on some more concrete possible outcomes.

EFFECTS ON ACADEMIC SUCCESS

Looking at the short run, there is much interest in whether blacks' achievement levels rise when they enter a school where white levels are higher. Findings on this question are mixed and ambiguous, and theoretical arguments on what one ought to expect are underdeveloped. Miller (1980) notes that expectations of increased minority achievement were originally rooted in what he calls the "lateral transmission of values" hypothesis: that certain values facilitate achievement; that white children are more likely to have them than black; and that desegregation can therefore result in an increase of black achievement by the transmission of these values. His review of the evidence offers little warrant for these assumptions, which he concludes are a drastic oversimplification.

I believe that we need to understand much better the extent to which interaction among students affects learning. Interaction might affect skills by changing behavior even without any change in "values." It is a commonplace in the social psychological literature that individuals who interact frequently become more alike in various relevant ways (Homans, 1950).

Hallinan (1977) points out the need to distinguish this from the reverse causal process--selection rather than influence: those who are similar are more likely to become friends to begin with. In a longitudinal study, Epstein (1978:63,65) was able to sort out selection from peer influence, and concluded that "students with initially low and high standardized test scores can be influenced in positive ways by friends with high scores ... [C]hoice of high-achieving friends has positive and continuous influence on student achievement, even when controls are placed on students' own initial scores." These statistical data do not give us detailed insight into the mechanisms by which these changes occur, but she speculates that for reciprocated friendships, effects result from "directly communicated expectations, and unreciprocated friendship selections influence behavior through modeling or emulation" (1978:68).

We have little information on whether it is common for blacks with lower scores to be influenced in this positive way by whites with higher ones. Patchen (1982) reports a high frequency of blacks and whites doing school work together. About one in seven reported doing so ten or more times in the semester, as compared to one in three who reported this for students of their own race. But because these data do not include the identity of those with whom one worked, there is no way to determine the relative scores of pair members.

It remains to inquire why influence does not operate in the opposite direction, to lower the scores of high-achievers. An understanding of this puzzle requires us to consider the complex relations among values, situations, and behavior, and to clarify how the influence noted by Epstein may differ from that pictured in the "transmission of values" argument. An analogy of low achievement to delinquent behavior may be helpful. Sykes and Matza (1957) argued, in their study of delinquent boys, that the boys' values were not significantly different from those of non-delinquents, but the delinquents' peer groups had developed various "techniques of neutralization"--rationales for asserting that the relevant value was not actually applicable to the situation in which the delinquent act occurred. Matza (1964) later elaborated this argument by suggesting that group dynamics were such, among these boys, that for one of them to assert the conventional value (which he held) would be disadvantageous in status competition, since ranking was contingent on more and more daring action. A process of escalation thus occurred in which participants' actions strayed farther and farther from their privately held values. Penalties for stating these values explicitly made it difficult for each boy to be aware of the others' concurrence with his own, resulting in "pluralistic ignorance."

High achievement may be a similar case. It is obviously praised and rewarded by official authorities and at least alleged to be related to higher status later in life. Its connection with official ideology, however, makes it a natural target for adolescent rebellion. There are no doubt adolescents who genuinely despise the notion of high achievement. But there are probably also those who privately aspire to it but cannot express or pursue this with within a peer group hostile to it. (Gans, 1963, has made this point dramatically for Italian peer groups in Boston.) For such students the selection of higher-achieving peers may be a groping to escape from this dilemma, by fuzzing over and ultimately restructuring the boundaries of their own peer groups, in ways which will allow them the situational freedom to pursue their preferred goals. An account of this kind suggests how behavior may alter dramatically with no real change in values, only in situational pressures. It has the advantage also of seeing students not merely as passive recipients of influences from elsewhere, but as active shapers of their interpersonal environment. It is probably oversimplified in assuming that any students actually hold only one or another clearcut set of "values," when the actual mental constructs affecting behavior are surely more complex and in flux. But it has at least the important quality of freeing the notion of "values" from its usual status as a tautological re-naming of observed behavior.

The structural aspect of this discussion consists of the observation that the extent to which one is influenced by others of higher achievement is not merely the result of dyadic interaction, but is rather imbedded in the social structure of the groups in which the two individuals participate and in the ways these groups generate and change norms for what levels of achievement are permissible. It is surprising, in fact, that the processes outlined here have never been viewed as closely analogous to the often-studied situation in industrial sociology where groups of workers develop definite norms of what constitutes acceptable levels of output (e.g., Homans, 1950). Industrial sociologists have long known that it would be a crude atomization to suppose worker output determined by each worker's "output values."

My discussion thus far concerns the effects of interaction on one's willingness and freedom to pursue academic goals. Some changes in achievement, however, may result more directly from the conveying of specific ideas and techniques among friends. Tutoring relationships as such are rarely reported by classroom observers, perhaps because such an exchange is viewed by students as being so asymmetric. Yet, Blau's (1963) account of an office setting suggests that the tutee may be able to make up his side by engaging in sufficient deference. Tutoring is an activity which may be logistically difficult to manage within school boundaries and schedules and may thus take place mainly in students' neighborhoods and free time, thereby having a genuine but invisible impact on both achievement and status structures.

Mutual helping seems more frequent, requiring either that students be at comparable levels or that there be some skill in which each is better than the other. The latter is made substantially less likely by what Cohen (1980:264) has called "single-ability classrooms," where only one skill, typically reading, is the basis for teachers' and thence students' evaluations of students' competence.

Bossert (1979) studied in detail the effects of classroom organization on social relations. He noticed that in traditional as compared to open classrooms, students were much more likely to choose as friends those similar in academic ability, as demonstrated in competitive recitation, resulting in cliques homogeneous in ability. In open classrooms, where ability was less public and salient, choices seemed much more random in this respect. In the traditional classrooms, furthermore, students seemed much less willing to help one another, presumably because the competitive atmosphere made help to another seem detrimental to one's own position (Bossert, 1979:82-83 and passim). Consistent with this, Hallinan (1980:338) found less cliquing and smaller cliques in open than traditional classrooms, noting also that most "cliques are homogeneous with respect to sex and ethnicity." Neither study explicitly concerned cross-ethnic helping, but Johnson et al. (1981:46) summarize a number of other studies that do point to "more cross-ethnic helping in cooperative than in competitive or individualistic learning situations."

These ideas may help explain the striking findings of Klein and Eshel (1980) in their study of the integration of Jerusalem elementary schools (between Jews of European and Oriental origins). Integration as such did not improve the achievement of Oriental Jews, but those in integrated classrooms that were "open" as compared to traditional did considerably better than other Oriental Jews and were closer to European Jews in arithmetic achievement scores. Effects on reading comprehension were smaller, though in the same direction. (It is worth noting that children of European Jewish background also scored higher in integrated, open classrooms than in other settings.)

There is much room here for theoretical speculation and empirical study of what kinds of skills can be expected to change as the result of students' interactions. Klein and Eshel's finding that scores in arithmetic were more responsive than those in reading is consistent with the argument of Mayer et al. (1974:42) who suggest that "social structural change is more likely to work in performance areas that are narrow and depend on recently acquired skills, than in performance areas that depend on more pervasive skills built up over a larger time period." St. John (1975) refers to this comment to help explain evidence that the proportion of white students in a classroom seems to have a positive impact on the mathematics, but not the other skills, of black students. Intensive observation of interaction may shed light on this question. One supposes, for example, that much of students' mutual help consists of offering answers to problems, without much thought about whether the principle behind the answer has been conveyed. Under what circumstances _do_ students attempt to communicate the basic principle? Or are such principles communicated unintentionally, in subtle ways?

EFFECTS ON LATER SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

In the longer run, Crain and Weisman's (1972) findings, based on a 1966 survey, are tantalizing: Northern blacks who had attended integrated schools were more likely to complete high school and attend college, enter occupations with high status and income, have stable marriages, own homes, live in integrated neighborhoods, have white friends and acquaintances, and say they are happy. McPartland and Braddock (1981:149) report more recent results based on large longitudinal samples. "School desegregation affects the movement of minority students into desegregated settings after high school graduation.... Those from earlier segregated school settings are more likely at later stages in their lives to be in segregated colleges and segregated work groups, while those who graduated from desegregated schools are more likely to enter desegregated colleges and work groups."

This is consistent with my (Granovetter, 1974) finding that strong ties are less useful in finding jobs than one might expect, compared to weak ones. School desegregation studies frequently show that cross-racial ties formed are not very strong. But even such weak ties may significantly affect later economic success. Since employers at all levels of work prefer to recruit by word-of-mouth, typically using recommendations of current employees, segregation of friendship and acquaintance means that workplaces that start out all white will remain so.

Becker (1979:15-16) notes that a 1973 Current Population Survey found that a "much higher proportion of black youth (16-24) than of whites found certain of the formal intermediaries most useful in their recent job hunt .... The other major racial difference ... is that a much higher proportion of white youth obtain their job by being offered one without taking any actions to find one! This is perhaps the best indication in these data of the superiority of personal networks for young white job-seekers in comparison to young blacks." He goes on to point out, however, that little direct and compelling evidence bears on this question. "We will not really know how the social network of job-relevant information functions to allocate a disproportionate share of youth employment to whites, or to what extent black youth's lack of employer-respected references makes a difference until more detailed research is done in this area" (Becker, 1979:20).

Research is urgently needed in which the outcome variable is not number of friendship choices received or changes in test scores, grades, or other short-term data, but rather ultimate socioeconomic results. The essence of the Brown decision was that segregated education is inherently unequal. Social science research on whether desegregated education is indeed more equal has focused on relatively narrow measures of this equality. It is worth recalling that the philosophical justification for quality of education has been, through much of American history, the notion that it is related to equal life chances. Though there may be overwhelming evidence that schools have not typically equalized life chances (e.g., Persell, 1977), such equalization remains a criterion worth using in asking the value of school desegregation. The research question that arises directly from this criterion is whether the life chances of blacks who attend desegregated schools are significantly improved over those of comparable blacks who do not. Since there is ample evidence that test scores and grades in school do not explain much of the variance in later income or status (Jencks et al., 1979), these latter results must be studied directly.

THE MACRO CONTEXT OF MICROSTRUCTURAL ANALYSIS

In the preceding I have blithely ignored the larger social context, while suggesting how one might better understand and manage the structures of social relationships within desegregated schools. Despite the value of intellectual division of labor, the analyst making arguments about this microstructural level is also obliged to step back and ask whether the macro context in which schools are embedded is such as to nullify or make irrelevant his or her theories and recommendations.

One of the best established findings on desegregation, for example, is that how easily and peacefully it is carried out depends heavily on the stance of local political leaders and elites (Crain, 1968). Huckaby's (1980; see also Record and Record, 1960) blow-by-blow account of school desegregation in Little Rock in 1957-1958 makes it clear that the vast majority of students would have accepted the situation in a relatively quiet and dignified way. Early in the year, some efforts were made by white students to ease the way for their new black schoolmates, but this majority was ultimately intimidated into inaction by a small number of racist students who would not ordinarily have commanded any influence, had they not been closely linked to vociferous and powerful political forces in the city and state.

Another crucial macro-level factor impinging on desegregation is the relation of neighborhoods to schools. I have talked here as if "desegregated schools" had ample numbers of both black and white students to work with, so that substantial integration would be at least a statistical possibility. In many central cities this is increasingly unrealistic. In the 1976 school year, Detroit had 19% white students; in 1978-1979 Atlanta had 10%; and in 1980-81, Chicago had 18.6% and St. Louis 22% (Orfield, 1981). These numbers have been declining consistently. In such cities, even if every school had the average percentage of whites for the city as a whole, this percentage is small enough that within each school resegregation can easily be effected by tracking or other administrative practices, multiplier effects of cross-racial friendship diminish quickly, and "tipping" effects occur more readily.

One of the first stumbling blocks school desegregation must overcome is, of course, the tendency of students' relationships out of school to be within-race, which may result largely in turn from existing patterns of housing segregation. Cities which have nearly no white students are only an extreme example of this general pattern. Furthermore, it is typical for schools to be more segregated than neighborhoods because changing neighborhoods "generally have older white families with relatively few children in school, but they attract young successful minority families with school-age children. In any case, minority families normally send a higher proportion of their children to public as opposed to parochial or private schools. This means that a 25% black neighborhood can easily have a 50% black school" (Orfield, 1981:206).

It is a commonplace observation that residential segregation makes school integration difficult. Less often noticed is the role of school segregation or integration in shaping the residential situation. This reverse connection has been noted primarily in connection with claims that "excessive" desegregation would lead to "white flight." But more subtle processes are also at work. Epps et al. (1980:235) note that the "racial composition of a school and its staff tends to stamp that identity on the surrounding neighborhood. In many urban areas, the attendance zone of a school defines the only effective boundary between 'neighborhoods.' Homebuyers use school attendance zones as a guide in their selection of a residence. Realtors take particular pains to 'sell' the school as they sell the home; the school zone is listed in many newspaper classified advertisements for homes and often serves to identify the racial character of the 'neighborhood.'" Orfield (1981:205) summarizes a number of recent studies showing that "a significant number of whites continue to move into integrated neighborhoods until the transition is well advanced. The basic problem is that minority families move in faster, thus gradually making the community more and more heavily minority until virtually all whites stop considering it as a possible place to live." This suggests that even relatively small increases in the number of whites entering such neighborhoods might have large impacts in preventing residential "tipping." If local schools and their racial composition are a significant factor in moving decisions, it may follow that any policy which insures stably integrated schools may have unexpectedly powerful effects in stabilizing neighborhood integration. This possibility should be entered into the cost/benefit considerations surrounding school integration plans.

Another example of the way broad macro features of a school system impinge on the behavior of actors in the school desegregation situation is the relation of this situation to the society's labor market and manpower needs. It is clear, for instance, that one of the main mechanisms of resegregation in nominally integrated schools is curriculum tracking. The obvious recommendations are to reduce such tracking, make track assignment more easily changeable, track by subject but not by entire curriculum, etc. These recommendations would be easier to implement if tracking were only what it appears to be: an attempt to deal efficiently with academically heterogenous populations. But an increasing literature on tracking suggests that there may also be a more subtle and pervasive factor supporting it: the need for the economic system to fill positions at all levels, low as well as high. In her comprehensive review of this literature, Persell (1977, Ch. 6) points out that tracking was promoted originally by industrialists early in the 20th century. As businessmen became increasingly influential on boards of education, controlling appointments and helping shape educational practice with ideas and philanthropic contributions, their quite explicit concern that education be geared to meeting the manpower needs of business came to be the dominant conception. Emphasis on testing and sorting was given a scientific cast by the increasing use of psychometrics, with test development heavily supported by major industrial foundations.

The use of tracking increased greatly in the 1920s and 1930s, "when large numbers of foreign immigrants needed to be incorporated into the labor force," fell into disuse until the late 1950s when it was revived in conjunction with the outcry raised by Sputnik but also with "increasing migration of rural Southern blacks to Northern cities and an influx of Puerto Rican and Mexican American migrants" (Persell, 1977:85). In all periods and settings, one result of tracking seems to have been classroom resegregation of ethnic groups in schools nominally integrated. Persell (1977:162) comments that education "contributes to the reproduction of structures of dominance in two major experiential ways: through the isolating and insulating of experiences; and the correspondence between the experiential nature of education and the requirements of work. Education occurs in relatively segregated and isolated groups, divided along wealth-owning, occupational and racial lines .... Under such conditions, members of all groups fail to experience each other .... Once groups with different pasts or different futures are identified and separated, they are exposed to quite different experiences that prepare them most appropriately for their respective futures."

To the extent this is correct, resistance to changes will be far greater than might be expected on educational grounds alone. Note that this analysis does not assert that the educators directly in charge of tracking are themselves mainly concerned with economic outcomes; their beliefs may indeed be based purely on a philosophy of education. It is rather argued that the strong influence of business on what research is funded and on who is appointed to school administrative positions makes more likely the development of this particular philosophy of education and the appointment of those who hold it.

Such a process operates over a long period of time and in ways not obviously and explicitly visible. Proponents of changes in our system of tracking and sorting can have more effect if they attend not only to the pure educational issues in isolation but also the broader socio-economic context in which tracking is set.

It has also been argued that labor market characteristics have quite direct effects on student behavior and performance. It is a commonplace of American ideology that education is the royal road to economic success, and that those who fail in schooling are thereby doomed to economic failure as well. In his study of a small town high school, Stinchcombe (1964:6) turns this argument on its head, asserting when "a student realizes that he does not achieve future status increment from improved current performance, current performance loses meaning. The student becomes hedonistic because he does not visualize achievement of long-run goals through current self-restraint. He reacts negatively to a conformity that offers nothing concrete .... The future, not the past, explains adolescent rebellion, contrary to the hypothesis that deviant attitudes are the result of distinctively rebel biographies."

In this study, Stinchcombe assumes that low school achievers, who become rebels because they see that the labor market holds little promise for them, are "less intelligent," and that this explains their low achievement. Ogbu (1978 and this volume) takes the argument a step further, asserting that for whole categories of people, particularly the ones he refers to as "castelike minorities," low school achievement is the direct result of their perception of a "job ceiling" in the labor market which assures that the return on any efforts they put into the educational process will be smaller than if they were members of the dominant group. The opportunity structure forces blacks "to rely on white patronage to achieve jobs and other necessities of life. And competence in winning their objective through patronage requires the skills of dependence, compliance and manipulation. Thus the caste system requires blacks to renounce such white motivational skills as autonomy, independence, initiative and competitiveness in order to 'make it' in the wider society" (Ogbu, 1978:211-212). He argues that black females typically perform better in school than do males because they understand that their opportunities are better. His review of the literature in five other societies confirms that in all cases, subordinate ethnic groups do worse in school and face labor market discrimination. Ogbu's argument that in all these cases, perception of a "job ceiling" makes academic striving seem like wasted effort is plausible. But there are very few studies that assess this proposition directly, and formidable methodological problems would be encountered.

To the extent this argument is valid, attempts to equalize achievement between ethnic groups and to reduce stereotypical and status-oriented intergroup behavior will face barriers that cannot be properly understood with reference only to an isolated micro-level situation.

The examples in this section make no pretense of being a complete catalogue of ways in which the small-scale situation is imbedded in a larger societal context that has substantial if sometimes subtle and hidden impact on personal interactions and behaviors. The purpose here has only been to sensitize the reader to the importance of taking this context into account in any attempt to understand what is happening and what can and cannot be done by attending only to a micro-level of analysis.

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A MODEL FOR RACIAL CONTACT IN SCHOOLS

H.M. Blalock

The primary objective of this chapter, as well as others in the volume, is to examine the literature on school desegregation with a view to providing theoretical insights, guidelines, and frameworks that will improve the quality of research in this area. Presumably, our most important objective is not only to improve research quality, but to make a series of recommendations that will be useful to school administrators and teachers regarding the quality and quantity of interracial and interethnic interaction patterns, as well as ways in which the learning environment for all students may also be improved. Yet scholars who have examined the literature have concluded, rather pessimistically, that in general research findings are inconclusive and that, where empirical relationships have been found, they are both very weak in magnitude and also difficult to "add up" because of their complexity and seeming inconsistency.[1]

Even with good theories, studies may continue to find weak and inconclusive relationships that make it impossible to provide really useful policy guidelines. One reason is that the dependent variables we are trying to predict may be determined by an extremely large number of variables, only a few of which can be identified, accurately measured, and brought under control. Another is that, within the context of American education, there may not be enough real variation in important causes to afford any chance of explaining variability in the dependent variables of interest; many factors may be virtually constant across our own educational system, or even those that have been tried in other countries. Since one must always take some factors as "givens," we shall not attempt to account for such constancies, the nature of the American educational system, or how it is linked with other major social institutions.[2]

It goes without saying that there must be multiple theories about school desegregation, according to the nature of the dependent variables one wishes to explain. Some such theories could be stated in strictly macro-level terms. For instance, one might attempt to explain community outcomes such as unemployment levels, racial tensions, or occupational distributions in terms of school desegregation levels or educational policies relating to minorities. The dependent variables that seem to be of greatest practical interest, however, tend to be aggregated individual-level variables: such things as the performances of minority and majority children, their aspiration and achievement

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The writer is grateful to Nancy S. Landale for her extensive literature review and to Jomills H. Braddock, Stanley Lieberson, and Martin Patchen for their helpful comments on a previous draft of this chapter. Project participants also made numerous useful suggestions.

levels, their self-esteems, or their friendship choices. Given the diversity of such dependent variables, one could hardly expect a single over-arching theory of school desegregation to provide a satisfactory explanation of all such variables. Nor would one expect policy decisions affecting, say, the percentages of each group within a particular school or curriculum to have uniformly favorable consequences in all dimensions and under a variety of circumstances.

The strategy employed in the present chapter is designed to illustrate a mode of attack that, I believe, can be employed in connection with a variety of micro-level dependent variables, although the specific explanatory variables introduced will necessarily vary according to the phenomenon being explained. In brief, the aim is to attempt to locate a reasonably small number of general variables that operate at a very proximate level to the actors concerned, in this case school children or adolescents. If the list of such variables is reasonably complete, we may then make the working assumption that all macro-level variables operate through one or more of these proximate variables to affect the behaviors concerned. Thus macro-level variables are brought into the picture as contextual variables in a micro-level explanatory system, with the objective being to work "outward" from the individual actor to increasingly remote factors that have indirect effects through the intervening mechanisms specified by the theory.

There will be no attempt, in the present chapter, to summarize the growing body of empirical literature dealing with friendship patterns and sociometric choices in school settings.[3] Although most of these studies have not involved data collected in such a manner to permit formal network analyses, their general orientation is highly compatible with that developed in Granovetter's chapter on network analysis. The focus of the present chapter is intended to complement such network orientations and is intended to specify a number of different contact dimensions and link these to characteristics of settings that may influence the nature of cross-racial or cross-ethnic contacts. There will be several points, however, at which it will be relevant to comment briefly on some of the findings of these empirical studies.

Nor will there be any effort in this chapter to theorize about the social processes that may affect other types of outcome variables, such as the status attainments of minority members, the general level of community conflict, personal adjustments to later discrimination, or feedbacks to the school desegregation process at a later point in time. The reason is rather simple. Each of these separate outcome variables requires a distinct explanatory theory at least as complex as the one considered in this chapter and involves a set of intervening mechanisms that refer to the experiences and decisions of a variety of actors, each motivated in different ways. For instance, any reasonably complete theory of occupational attainment would have to contain variables relating to the minority actor, his or her peers, those responsible for hiring decisions, and the actions of competitors. These rather "immediate" variables would, in turn, be affected by a set of contextual factors such as the nature of the local economy, union policies, the "mix" of population characteristics, governmental regulations enforcing affirmative action, and so forth. Such a theory would take us far beyond the school desegregation issue but -- I would argue -- could employ basically the same strategy of attack as exemplified in the present chapter.

A THEORETICAL MODEL FOR CROSS-GROUP CONTACTS

We have noted that one should not necessarily expect to "salvage" a host of negative findings or confusing patterns of weak relationships merely by producing a theory in the form of a causal model, since there may be a diversity of reasons for these empirical results. Even so, it does seem important to attempt to formulate a theory of inter-group contacts which is reasonably general in that it is applicable not only to school settings but to numerous other contact situations as well. One may then investigate the degree to which the general explanation accounts for interaction patterns within these school settings, as well as explaining the behaviors of that special category of persons we refer to as adolescents. We shall assume, then, that interaction processes are sufficiently similar that the general model may serve to guide our thinking about school settings.

The theoretical position that we (Blalock and Wilken, 1979) have taken in a much more general work is that macro-level analyses should be based on micro-level theories that begin with a series of assumptions about individual actors. Our formulation stresses two kinds of subjective variables, namely utilities, or values attached to outcomes or goals, and subjective probabilities that multiply with these utilities to produce expectancies or subjective expected utilities (SEU's). Space considerations do not permit an elaboration of this position, which is discussed in considerable detail in Blalock and Wilken (1979). I shall, however, take a general model from that work that is designed to explain the frequency and duration of cross-group interactions. The model is given as Figure 1. Most of the variables in the model will be discussed in the remainder of this section. For the sake of concreteness, I shall illustrate its essential features by referring specifically to the interracial or interethnic contacts of children or adolescents in school settings, and I shall attempt to link the rather abstract concepts in the theory to these settings, as well as to empirical findings, where relevant.

Although we shall proceed by moving from the top of the figure downwards, and from left to right, it is perhaps wise to focus initially on the bottom two rows of the diagram. The dependent variable with which we shall be concerned is the frequency and duration of inter-group contacts of various kinds, but the reader will notice two arrows with "wiggles" leading from this box to segregation at time t + 1 and to cultural and status similarity at t + 1. The wiggly arrows are intended to represent an aggregating function of some

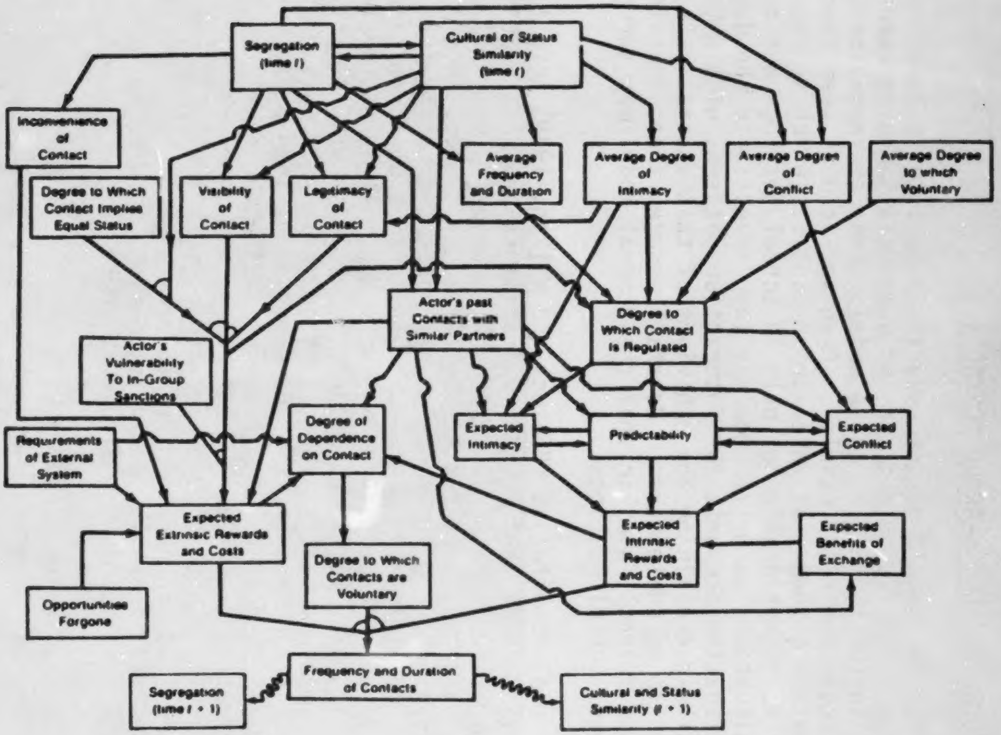
Segregation (time t)
Cultural or Status Similarity (time t)
Inconvenience of Contact
Degree to Which Contact Implies Equal Status
Visibility of Contact
Legitimacy of Contact
Average Frequency and Duration
Average Degree of Intimacy
Average Degree of Conflict
Average Degree to which Voluntary
Actor's past Contacts with Similar Partners
Degree to Which Contact is Regulated
Actor's Vulnerability To In-Group Sanctions
Degree of Dependence on Contact
Expected Intimacy
Predictability
Expected Conflict
Requirements of External System
Expected Extrinsic Rewards and Costs
Degree to Which Contacts are Voluntary
Expected Intrinsic Rewards and Costs
Expected Benefits of Exchange
Opportunities Forgone
Frequency and Duration of Contacts
Segregation (time t + 1)
Cultural and Status Similarity (t + 1)

Figure 1: Causal Model Explaining Frequency and Duration of Cross-Group Contacts

kind, indicating that individual contacts, when aggregated, may feed back to affect later segregation levels, as well as similarities or differences on status and cultural dimensions. Of course the magnitude of this feedback effect may be very small in some instances, as for example the impact of such school contacts on residential segregation the next year. But, in the longer term, such feedback effects may be considerable. The essential point, in this connection, is that micro-level variables, such as contacts among individual children, may have important consequences at the macro level. For instance, if such contacts involve a high degree of conflict and violence, the policies of school boards, parent associations, and even legislative bodies may be affected. Thus a "dependent" variable at the micro level may, when aggregated, become "independent" at the macro level.

SEGREGATION

In any causal model there will be certain variables that must be taken as predetermined in the sense that, at a given time t, none of the remaining variables in the system can influence these particular variables. This does not mean, however, that prior levels of some of the endogenous or mutually interdependent "dependent" variables may not have affected some of these predetermined variables, as we have just suggested may be the case when individual behaviors at an earlier point in time have been aggregated. In the model of Figure 1 there are three kinds of such predetermined variables: levels of segregation, cultural or status similarities, and requirements of the external system. In this section we shall confine our attention to the first of these variables, though noting that both segregation and similarity affect a number of macro variables that are located on the second line of the figure: the visibility of the contact, its legitimacy, and three "average" level variables, namely, the average frequency and duration of contacts, the average degree of intimacy, and the average degree of conflict.

By segregation we shall refer to spatial and/or organizational separation, as is done in the extensive literature on residential segregation (Duncan and Duncan, 1955; Taeuber and Taeuber, 1965; Lieberson, 1963). As noted by Rose in this volume, residential segregation is defined in terms of departures from a uniform distribution, independently of the relative sizes of two (or more) groups. A city or other larger unit is subdivided into subunits such as census tracts or city blocks, and the percentages of each group are recorded for each subunit. An index of segregation, such as the Gini index or the index of dissimilarity, is then calculated in terms of the distribution of these percentages across the subunits. The index of dissimilarity, for example, provides a measure of the proportion of one group that would need to be redistributed to other subunits in order to produce a uniform distribution having exactly the same percentage of each group in all of these units.

Such a measure of segregation can, of course, be applied to other sorts of units and subunits, such as organizations and departments within these organizations or school districts and schools within them. Furthermore, the subunits may be divided internally, so that measures of segregation may be obtained for differing types of units. For instance, a school (having a given minority percentage) may be subdivided into classrooms to assess the degree of internal segregation, but the classrooms themselves may be subdivided, say into areas of the room, to obtain additional insights into departures from uniformity at varying levels of aggregation.

Several things should be noted about such measures of segregation. First, the results will depend upon the sizes of the subunits selected. In the case of residential segregation it has been found that segregation scores using city blocks as subunits tend to be higher than those using census tracts as subunits. Second, none of these measures is designed to tap locational patterns, as for example the tendency for blacks to concentrate near the central zones of a city or, perhaps, for white students to be concentrated in specific kinds of classes rather than others. Third, none of the measures gets at interaction patterns directly, though in many instances it is reasonable to assume that interactions will be more common in very small subunits, such as city blocks or classrooms, than in larger ones, such as tracts or entire schools.

Of considerable importance from the standpoint of the school desegregation literature, these measures of uniformity do not take into consideration the possibility of rather extreme racial distributions for the larger units. Thus if a school system contains 90 per cent minority, a score of zero segregation simply means that the 10 percent nonminority are uniformly distributed across all schools (or within each classroom). Thus someone who claims that an overwhelmingly black school district is already highly segregated is either using a different criterion for "segregation" or, more likely, is implicitly using a much larger areal unit, such as the entire SMSA, as the criterion. If the suburbs have only 5 percent minority population, whereas the central city is overwhelmingly minority, either or both of these separate areas may be highly segregated or not, whereas a measure based on the total area (city and suburb) might provide a very different result. Similarly, a single school that is 95 percent black may be internally unsegregated, whereas the school system itself may be highly segregated.

We must also recognize that the exposure of one group to the other ordinarily will depend upon their relative sizes (see Rose, this volume). Thus if we hold constant the number of intergroup contacts, it is obvious that members of the numerical minority will, on the average, experience a larger proportion of cross-group contacts than will the typical member of a larger group. It is especially important to keep this fact in mind when we are dealing with instances of extreme racial or ethnic imbalance, whether within schools or individual classrooms. If there are only a very small number of blacks in a much larger class of whites, then virtually all of the black students will be exposed to whites, whereas a substantial proportion of the latter group may have negligible contacts with the much smaller minority. From the standpoint of the individual actor, the exposure rate may be a much more important factor than a measure of contacts that standardizes for the relative sizes of the two groups. Also, of course, whenever the absolute sizes of both groups are large, it becomes possible for almost all actors to confine at least their more important contacts to members of their own group. Thus both the relative and absolute sizes of each group become potentially important factors influencing the nature of contacts between them.

There appear to be three important kinds of segregation immediately relevant to school contacts. First, residential or neighborhood segregation will obviously affect students' opportunities for contact both prior to school entry and also in the case of many activities that occur outside the school setting and during the summer months. Second, segregation of schools within a school district will obviously be dependent on neighborhood segregation, though busing and various incentive systems (e.g., magnet schools) may also affect the degree to which percentages of racial and ethnic groups depart from uniform distributions across schools. Finally, there will be the level of segregation within schools, and in particular the degree to which classrooms and organizations (e.g., school band, athletic teams, or social clubs) have uniform distributions.

Patchen (1982), who asked black and white Indianapolis high school students whether or not they intentionally avoided members of the other race, found that the three factors most closely associated with such avoidance were (1) negative parental attitudes toward the other race, (2) the nature of neighborhood contacts, and (3) the nature and quality of interracial contacts at schools previously attended. Clearly, the absence of residential segregation is a necessary condition for neighborhood contacts and also is linked to primary school desegregation and thus indirectly contributes to avoidance through several mechanisms. Patchen also found that the extent of friendly contact across races was most closely related to the exposure that students had, through classroom contacts and extracurricular activities, to members of the other race. These findings are not at all surprising, of course. They are perhaps a statement of the obvious fact that when contacts are inconvenient they are less likely to occur, but they also suggest that not all types of prior or outside contacts will affect those that occur within a specific school setting.

Segregation also affects contacts through other mechanisms that will be discussed in the remainder of the chapter. There is obviously a reciprocal causal linkage between spatial separation and various types of cultural or status similarity variables. Two groups that have very different cultural characteristics or income levels are likely to self-select themselves into different sections of a community or school campus. But once they have done so, the spatial separation further inhibits contact and therefore the very communication that might, over time, reduce these same cultural or status differences. Therefore, we have drawn in a double arrow between these two types of macro-level variables.

Two additional mechanisms will be discussed in appropriate places below. First, segregation will affect the degree to which intergroup contacts are defined to be legitimate and the extent to which they will be visible or readily noticed, and perhaps sanctioned. Secondly, and perhaps most important, segregation is often an effective tension- or conflict-reducing mechanism, so much so that whenever there are strong pressures to keep violence and tension to a minimum, the most practical expedient may be to encourage a high degree of spatial separation. Once such separation becomes accepted, and once each group has staked out its own territory--say in a cafeteria or playground--the path of least resistance may be to look the other way and to rationalize a high degree of segregation as being necessary for maintaining order.

CULTURAL OR STATUS SIMILARITY

Whenever contacts are primarily voluntary and there are a sufficiently large number of potential contact partners that each person has a wide range of choice, we may expect "sifting" to occur. By this we mean that there is likely to be a gradual process through which individuals select their friends and acquaintances according to criteria of similarity, selecting as closest friends those who are most compatible in a number of respects: convenience, similar interests and habits, acceptability to one's other friends and parents, and--as the child matures--approximately equal status with oneself. Such a sifting will of course never be complete, but it will be facilitated whenever a sharp line has been drawn between two categories, as for example, blacks and whites, boys and girls, or persons with distinctly different linguistic backgrounds.

Thus we may expect cultural and status similarity to play an important role in both the spatial segregation and interaction processes, even though the processes involved may be gradual and undramatic. Children, like their parents, find it easy to amplify or exaggerate rather small differences, such as those involving dress or unusual mannerisms. Norms develop to the effect that one should keep a certain distance from those who are stigmatized because of these characteristics. The latter persons then must select partners among their own group, or perhaps among outcasts from the majority or dominant group. This process, being gradual or "natural," may go unnoticed by persons in authority, or it may be very difficult to counter where it has been called to their attention.

In the case of minorities there are a number of such differentiating factors: racial features, differences in physical aggressiveness, language or dialect, learning skills and self-confidence, or competitiveness. Children who play rough are not likely to be attractive to those who fear aggressiveness, a factor that may partly account for the segregation of the sexes in elementary school. Those who do well in their school work, and whose behaviors are most acceptable to their teachers, will tend to avoid and be avoided by those who are obvious "problem" students. Those minority students who have been socialized to avoid competitive situations can also expect to be avoided by "mainstream" white students who have been taught at an early age to compete, compete, compete. And those who have had their competitiveness channeled into athletics, and who have developed athletic skills at an early age, can also be expected to shun those who have other interests. The familiar pattern of black domination of certain sports undoubtedly begins at a very early age and then becomes reinforced in the school setting.

Metz (1978) has made the important point that heterogeneity, per se, may lead to difficulties in the control process that spill over into other aspects of school life. She notes two major types of control exercised by school authorities. The simplest involves rigid discipline and strict authority, which also are somewhat characteristic of lower-class families and which, at least until recently, used to be common in all-black segregated schools. The second form of control is much more subtle and relies on what she terms the "institutionalization of ignorance." If properly socialized, young students will simply not realize that rules may be broken or that adults may be disobeyed. They take their teachers' word for it that learning is in their best interest and that certain things must or must not be done.

If students come to school with drastically different backgrounds, however, neither type of control mechanism may work. Students socialized to respond positively to a flexible atmosphere may rebel against strict authoritarian measures, particularly if they see others similarly tempted to rebel. Those who are primarily used to authoritarian methods may take advantage of the flexibility that often goes along with the "institutionalization of ignorance" approach. Once a significant number of students challenge either type of control system, its weaknesses will become apparent. Deviations from authoritarian controls will lead to the realization that only a few students can be controlled at any one time, not only because of the students' superiority of numbers, but also because of the very real limitations placed on school authorities in terms of punishments that can be meted out. And it will be impossible to maintain students' ignorance or acceptance, once a significant number of others have challenged their elders. A "compromise" resolution, we may infer from Metz's argument, may be very difficult to achieve.

Of course it may only be a few specific kinds of socialization factors that are related to the above differences in reactions to these two kinds of control practices, and it appears as though social class differences may be at least as important as racial or cultural ones. Certainly, however, there will be important differences in family socialization with respect to the degree to which pre-school children are taught to obey authorities without question, and with the expectation that deviance will be met by almost certain punishment. Such socialization differences will carry over to the school setting, where students may experience either what they perceive to be a license to misbehave with impunity or a more authoritarian atmosphere than that to which they are accustomed. Although these differences may not become translated into spatial segregation and avoidance, we expect that the gradual sifting process will result in a self-selection of friends and acquaintances along the lines of how students react to the control structure of the school system. Those who actively rebel, or who are defined as troublemakers and poor students, are likely to be differentiated from those who conform or who may be defined as "goodies" or "suckers" by those who perceive this system as being counter to their immediate interests.

In general, people will tend to avoid situations in which they expect failure and, conversely, will self-select themselves into settings in which their competitive skills give them an advantage. Where racial or ethnic groups differ with respect to socialization patterns that emphasize the development of very different skills, we would therefore expect that as students enter school they will begin to sort themselves out by setting and type of activity. But they may also attempt to place roadblocks in front of others, so that the latter's skills may not be used as effectively.[4] Thus students who lack, for any reason, the intellectual tools to compete successfully in a classroom setting may engage in diversionary tactics that disrupt this learning environment. They may also attempt to create peer pressures designed to inhibit the competitive display of intellectual skills. The serious student, in such a setting, may be encouraged to keep quiet, to appear inattentive and disinterested, and even possibly to make a sufficient number of mistakes that his or her superiority is hidden from view. A member of a minority group characterized by relatively low achievement levels may be especially vulnerable to such peer pressures lest he or she be labeled as too "white" or middle-class in orientation.

As students age and gain increasing flexibility with respect to opportunities to choose among alternative behaviors, we may therefore expect these choices to result in a sifting process through which members of different groups sort themselves by engaging primarily in those activities in which they have, in the past, been successful. The drift of black students to athletics and away from college preparatory programs is a case in point, as is the avoidance of mathematics and science by girls and most racial minorities, except Japanese- and Chinese-Americans. This selectivity among programs and activities will then obviously tend to reduce the frequency and duration of intergroup contacts, not necessarily because of prejudice and discrimination, but simply as a result of differential skills brought into the school setting and then reinforced by subsequent performance levels and sanction patterns. Unless such patterns of differential skills and sorting can be countered during the very early grades, when adult authorities have greater control over students' behaviors and choices, it may be virtually impossible to block their occurrence later on.

Thus, although the maximization of unrestricted choices may be desirable from the standpoint of the maturation process, it may also have important side effects that warrant systematic study. In particular, more research is needed on how choice patterns vary by age and sex, and how these are affected by both the absolute and relative sizes of racial and ethnic groups. For example, it has been suggested by Miller (in press) that girls' play groups tend to be smaller than those of boys, largely because boys are more likely to engage in competitive sports in which relatively large numbers of participants are needed. In a group of boys choosing up sides for a softball game, for instance, black or other minority boys will be needed to make a complete team. Given individual differences in abilities, this will ordinarily result in teams that are approximately similar in racial composition. Although the choices may be "free" ones, the very nature of the activity tends to restrict the options to a much higher degree than those that are available for two or three person games. Teacher interventions, perhaps in the form of encouraging larger team activities on the part of girls, may indirectly affect these otherwise free-choice patterns, as noted by Miller.

EQUAL-STATUS, VISIBILITY, AND LEGITIMACY OF CONTACTS

As we move down the left-hand side of Figure 1, we note that most of the arrows feed into a box titled "expected extrinsic rewards and costs." By extrinsic rewards and costs we refer to actions that may be taken by others (not immediately involved in the contact) either to reward or to punish the actors involved. We exclude, however, actions taken by the interacting partners themselves, considering these to be intrinsic to the interactions. Toward the top of the left-hand side there are three important variables: the degree to which the contact implies equal status, the visibility of the contact (to various other parties), and its legitimacy. The arrows directed from these three variables to expected extrinsic rewards and costs intersect before reaching that box, representing the assumption that they may interact nonadditively in their joint effects on rewards and costs. Small arcs drawn between such intersecting arrows indicate that such joint effects are assumed to be multiplicative, implying that the two factors must both be present for an effect to occur. In particular, unless a contact is visible to others it cannot be sanctioned either negatively or positively. Thus if a contact is defined as illegitimate it must also be witnessed by the relevant sanctioning party, or at least be reported to that party.

In considering visibility and legitimacy we must specify a list of types of actors who will be relevant as third parties to the contact. First, there will be the students' parents, many of whom may disapprove of interracial or interethnic contacts of specified kinds. We assume, however, that in most instances parents will be unaware of the myriad of contacts that take place in these school settings, so that the visibility factor will be near zero in these instances. Two important kinds of contacts will be visible to parents, however. Close friendships, especially those involving opposite sexes, are much more likely to be monitored by parents, especially in instances where friends are brought home after school or during weekends.

The second type of contact likely to come to the attention of parents involves overt friction and conflict, especially of an organized variety. We assume that many school administrators place a very high priority on preventing such conflictful contacts from coming to the attention of the wider community, and on playing down their significance as "nonracial" whenever the public has become aroused.

Many contacts (or lack of contacts) will be "visible" to teachers and administrators, but they may either take them for granted or consider them relatively unimportant as long as they appear to have no bearing on the main objectives related to learning. Thus it may be noted that whites and blacks sit in separate sections of the cafeteria or congregate outside of school in different areas. Or they may even enter different doors and use different corridors or bathrooms. If such patterns are defined as neutral, being neither legitimate nor illegitimate, then regardless of whether or not they are observed, we expect sanctions from these sources to be negligible. Indeed, it may be difficult in most such instances to reward those students who do make an effort to increase intergroup contacts since, as long as behaviors are within certain bounds, they are defined as irrelevant to the major objectives of teachers and administrators.

Students' peers are another matter, however, and as children age and become increasingly sophisticated about norms relating to legitimacy, we may expect them to become more and more concerned about possible peer sanctions resulting from deviations from these norms. I am unaware of any definitive studies that deal specifically with student norms regulating different kinds of interracial contacts or how these norms change as students age, but if such norms approximate adult norms as students progress through the grade levels, we may expect something of the following to emerge. Rather casual friendly contacts across races will be encouraged, particularly as a hedge against conflict and aggressive behaviors. But certain "lines" will be drawn, rather subtly, such that students learn not to become too friendly with others of a different race, or at least not to display overt signs of such friendships, thereby making them highly visible to peers of their own group.

Such norms defining which behaviors are and are not legitimate will probably be more sharp when they relate to cross-sex interactions and when they refer to contact situations that imply near status-equality among the partners. Thus certain "social" events, such as out-of-school parties or school dances, are likely to be more segregated than are events, such as band concerts or football games, where contacts are more casual and where the status equality of partners is not implied. The argument is that if a contact implies that partners are nearly equal in status, the person of higher status will have more to lose then he or she would in situations where status is irrelevant.

This assumes, of course, that the contact is visible to relevant others. And it also assumes that such contacts are, at least to a degree, defined as illegitimate or "off limits."

An additional variable that we assume interacts with all three of these contact variables is the degree to which the partners concerned are vulnerable to peer-group sanctions. Ever since Hollingshead's (1949) classic study of "Elmtown" and Coleman's (1961) analysis of adolescent society, sociologists have been sensitized to the extreme importance of peer-group pressures, particularly among high-school students. But students vary in their degree of dependence on other students. Especially in larger schools they are often able to locate large groups of persons with similar orientations, so that for all intents and purposes, they are relatively immune to at least certain kinds of peer pressures. We may distinguish two nearly opposite kinds of relatively invulnerable persons: those who, for whatever reasons, have become isolates or who are defined as deviant from peer norms, and those who are sufficiently popular that they may in some instances "rise above" these pressures without fear of major sanctions.

In the first instance, certain of these isolates or deviants may be perceived as "solid citizens" according to adult norms. They may be rejected by their peers because they refuse to drink at parties, openly disapprove of drug use, or are defined as too intellectual. Or they may be defined as queer or too "arty" or unusual in some other way. Such isolates may then deliberately seek out others like themselves, including members of other racial or ethnic groups. For instance, a "hard rock" group may consist of blacks and whites, as did many jazz musician groups long before integration became fashionable among intellectuals. Such deviant or isolated students, however, are seldom in a position to affect student norms, though they may gain a certain amount of notoriety or popularity if their skills are sufficient to compensate for their deviant behavior.

In the second instance, perhaps exemplified by the star white athlete whose closest friend is a black teammate, school authorities are provided with a potential mechanism for modifying student norms, provided that the cooperation of such popular individuals can be obtained. If it is "OK" for the superstar athlete to associate with members of another race, then this obviously sets an example that may be exploited by those who wish to increase interracial contacts. But if there is a perception that such students are being "used," or that their own interracial friendships are not genuine, such an approach to modifying student norms could very well backfire.

EXTRINSIC REWARDS AND COSTS AND DEMANDS OF THE EXTERNAL SYSTEM

Homans (1950) stressed that most groups engage in activities and interactions over and above those demanded by their environments, but he also noted that as these demands from the external system decrease one may also expect many of these additional activities and interactions to decrease. Furthermore, certain kinds of external demands will be more effective than others in increasing the extent of interaction relative to the total amount of activity. We would generally expect that the nature of the tasks one is assigned may affect the amount of cooperation and division of labor required to complete them, as well as the mutual dependence of each actor on the others. For instance, teachers may assign tasks in such a fashion that some but not all students are highly dependent on certain types of contacts, thereby also affecting the degree to which these contacts are voluntary or involuntary and thus their frequency and duration (see lower left-center portion of Figure 1). It has also been shown that situations requiring task interdependence are more likely than those that do not to encourage members to distribute rewards on an egalitarian basis, rather than strictly in terms of input or the importance of their individual contributions (Yamagishi, 1981).

It is in this area of reward and task manipulation that school authorities and teachers may have their greatest opportunity directly to affect the nature of intergroup interactions. Presumably, there is little that they can do, in the short run, about residential segregation, parental attitudes and behaviors, or status and cultural differences among groups. But the learning situation may be structured in a number of different ways, and rewards and punishments may also be manipulated so as to encourage or discourage intergroup interactions. This is especially the case in classroom settings and, perhaps, certain of the more structured extracurricular activities (such as sports, cheerleading, and band) that are likely to be attractive to members of all racial and ethnic groups.

Bossert (1979) has noted the effects of the standard type of lecture-recitation classroom environment, in which students learn to compete with one another for the teacher's favor (and attention) and in which they become exceedingly well aware of just where each student stands in the competitive game. He contrasts this traditional type of learning situation with one in which students proceed relatively independently and at different paces, but without this being explicitly called to their attention via the mechanism of the teacher's calling for a public performance of one's abilities or lack of them. A series of interesting experiments by Slavin and his associates suggests, as did the research of Bossert, that interracial contacts of a more than casual nature are more likely whenever there are cooperative learning environments that reward all members of a team, perhaps in terms of their average score or even one that gives the greatest weight to the performance levels of the slowest members.[5] The idea here is certainly not new and, in fact, was an essential part of Allport's (1954) thesis to the effect that cooperative, equal-status contacts of an enduring nature are needed to bring about extensive interracial contacts in other types of situations. The indication is that cooperative classroom activities of this nature do have a positive impact on intergroup contacts in the classroom and that these also spill over into school cafeterias, informal interactions, and out-of-school activities.

In addition to urging the study of potential side effects of such cooperative learning, we can introduce several notes of caution. First, one wonders whether American parents and most teachers and school principals can be expected to encourage a really concerted program to replace the traditional competitive learning atmosphere within the classroom. In spite of lip service to the contrary, the overwhelming stress in our society on individually achieved success may be far too strong. Those parents who are most active in school affairs may be the very same parents who want their children to enter an Ivy League college and to achieve high honors. Once they became aware of a reward system that gives equal rewards to slow learners and faster ones, would they tolerate such a system, even if it could also be shown that it led to improved race relations?

Second, as Cohen (1972, 1975) and her associates have emphasized, it may be difficult to achieve situations in which near status equality between racial and ethnic groups can be expected to hold. In most situations, she argues, members of the white dominant group will "take over" the learning situation, with blacks and other minorities becoming relatively passive. Although her research produced situations in which blacks were able to give help to whites, these were artificially constructed by giving the black students prior practice, so that in effect they began with a head start. For most classroom learning experiences, however, the shoe will be on the other foot, and we may expect that in interracial teams there will be a preponderance of whites helping blacks, rather than vice versa. For very young children, who are not racially conscious, the nature of this pattern may not be obvious. But as the children age, and as they "add up" a number of observations, one wonders just how equal these interaction situations can be.

Finally, in all cooperative situations in which members are rewarded by a "common good" that cannot be withheld from any member, there will be the problem of dealing with the "freeloader" who recognizes that the rational course of action may be to minimize his or her costs by reducing effort to near zero, while letting the other members do all the work. If such free-loading were randomly distributed across all ethnic groups, it might have few negative consequences for intergroup contacts. But if it became patterned, the results could be exactly the opposite from those intended. The direction of the pattern could favor either group. Minority members might readily slip into a dependent, lazy role, reaping the rewards of the much greater efforts of their white partners. Or a dominant group could "exploit" the minority by making it do all of the work, perhaps through the application of threats of various kinds, including their ability to capitalize on their more favored position with the teacher. As Olson (1965) has argued, such free-loading may be countered by providing all actors with "selective incentives" or differential rewards based on their own unique contributions. This, of course, requires careful monitoring of the interaction process, but may not turn out to be a major source of difficulty, especially in the case of cooperative projects of rather short duration.

There are obviously other ways of encouraging intergroup contacts, and doubtlessly such contacts are reinforced or discouraged in numerous subtle ways. Especially in the elementary grades, one can imagine a systematic effort to apply operant conditioning principles by rewarding each instance of friendly intergroup contact, while either ignoring or negatively sanctioning actions that involve hostile contacts. But unless there were an explicit policy along these lines, and unless teachers were specifically trained to use these techniques, the most common situation is likely to be a mixed one in which some teachers reward such contacts, others are totally indifferent to them, and perhaps still others may actively discourage them.

Most teachers are primarily oriented to imparting knowledge and getting lessons completed. What students do during recess and lunch periods or in the hallways is likely to go unnoticed unless the behaviors create disturbances or are otherwise embarrassing. And, of course, many student behaviors are simply not witnessed by any adults. Informal norms also exist to the effect that many kinds of student behaviors are simply not the "business" of teachers or school authorities. It is therefore difficult to imagine implementation of major school policies that would dramatically impact most of these informal types of contact situations. Task-related activities would seem to hold much greater promise as mechanisms for deliberately encouraging intergroup contacts.

INTRINSIC REWARDS AND COSTS AND THE REGULATION OF CONTACT

By intrinsic rewards and costs--the set of variables that appears toward the bottom right of Figure 1--we mean those rewards and costs resulting strictly from the interaction process itself, including the behaviors of one's interaction partners, quite apart from any rewards or costs that may result from products of this interaction. Since one's partner plays a crucial role in connection with these intrinsic rewards and costs, a number of variables that we have already discussed also come into play. In particular, any status or cultural differences that would make the contacts ambiguous, uncomfortable, embarrassing, demeaning, or otherwise unpleasant will tend to increase the costs of such contacts. There are all sorts of informal techniques that can be applied to either party to make contacts costly or unrewarding: the use of subtle insults, snobbery, aloofness, being highly inconsistent and unpredictable, or merely removing oneself so as to make contact inconvenient.

Minorities and other subordinate groups (as well as majorities) thus have a variety of relatively cost-free devices to reduce contact if they so desire, and therefore we may expect them to get back at the dominant group in such a fashion. Indeed, in the case of many interracial contacts, it appears as though really special efforts would need to be made by both parties to compensate for a host of inconveniences and potentially uncomfortable kinds of interactions. We therefore presume that, initially at least, a number of extrinsic rewards would be needed to reinforce those intergroup contacts that do occur and to compensate for negative sanctions that are likely to be applied by dissimilar partners.

It is generally recognized that in many instances spatial segregation is a conflict-reducing mechanism, as is avoidance. Especially when community tensions are high, or when a school previously occupied by one group is being "invaded" by another, we may therefore expect that segregated patterns will not only emerge but will be encouraged as a "safety valve" by school authorities. Once such patterns have been set, it may then require special incentives to break them down, given the expected costs to any persons who initiate such contacts. Unless two individuals knew each other before entering school, or have had extensive contact in connection with some task-related activity, there is little likelihood that either will take the considerable risk of rebuff or embarrassment.

Furthermore, if there has been overt physical violence or intimidation, any given actor would be taking a decided risk unless the partner and his or her friends were a known quantity, and in a segregated situation this is indeed unlikely. Even when tension and conflict have subsided, and when desegregation and integration become more feasible, it may be exceedingly difficult to obtain the necessary critical mass of students willing to take the gamble.[6] Therefore the average level of intergroup conflict, as well as the average amount of previous contact, will impact on any given actor's *expected* instrinsic rewards and costs, quite apart from the ones that might have been realized had the interaction taken place (Blalock and Wilken, 1979). In this sense, segregation and a low level of cross-group interactions become self-maintaining patterns unless outside catalysts can be brought into the equation and unless potentially conflictful contacts can be regulated.

Metz (1978) makes the important point that mechanisms used by school authorities to control student behaviors may be counter-productive to the objective of maximizing the learning process. She notes that, in many instances, insecure officials may find it necessary to institute rigid rules designed to prevent dramatic, though rare, outbursts of violence that would produce an unfavorable public reaction, and perhaps their dismissal from office. The knifing of a student, a racial brawl, or an incident involving extortion may gain considerably more attention in the mass media than a much larger number of uneventful, peaceful acts of racial cooperation. To the extent that spatial segregation and a very low level of intergroup interaction inhibit *both* types of contacts, it may be the former rather than the latter that dominates the thinking of school authorities. If so, the rational administrator may have little incentive to attempt to break down patterns of segregation or to encourage a larger number of intergroup interactions, both positive and negative.

A number of macro-level or structural variables may affect the role of school administrators and their accountability to their superiors, an elected school board, or parent groups. In the American educational system, school superintendents are in an extremely vulnerable position, with the result that turnover at this level is extremely rapid. Local school boards often consist of middle-class oriented persons, including a high proportion of those representing the business and banking communities. Not only are such board members socialized to abhor violence and controversy, but they also tend to be motivated to "protect" their middle-class children from both the threat of violence and also any "radical" ideas regarding social equality or controversial teaching techniques. Furthermore, most such board members are subject to recall petitions or have relatively short terms of office. To the extent that they have run for office in order to seek status as civic-minded citizens, or to launch a political career, we may expect them to try to avoid controversy and to insist that their administrators act so as to minimize the risk of bad publicity. School boards composed of members less vulnerable to citizen pressures and school authorities with long-term contracts might be expected to take greater risks.[7]

Students, of course, regulate their own behavior. In situations that ordinarily imply approximately equal status, but where in fact status or power inequalities actually exist, a dominant group will often develop a set of regulations that symbolize this inequality so that it is ever present in the minds of all actors. For instance, in the South, various deference patterns or a racial "etiquette" was enforced, so that the inferior position of blacks was continually emphasized. In school settings, however, a role reversal may occur, especially in instances where blacks or other minorities constitute a substantial proportion of the student body. Since it is virtually impossible for school authorities to control "minor" incidents and relatively subtle forms of student coercion, one group may gain the upper hand in terms of control over the most desirable spatial locations and the ability to extract deference. In particular, in instances where there are substantial class or race differences in the use of physical violence, and therefore also the threat of physical sanctions, there may come to be an "understanding" among students that, say, white middle-class students are not to use certain facilities, or that they are to give way when approached by those who are in a position to apply such physical sanctions. In another setting in which they are a small numerical minority, black students may fear negative sanctions for similar behaviors.

In situations where control mechanisms differ by racial or ethnic group, we may also anticipate that these devices will encounter differing responses on the part of school administrators and teachers. If, for example, middle-class students rely primarily on subtle devices, such as snobbery and ridicule, they are much more likely to avoid disciplinary measures than are those who employ physical means. In a sense, lower-status students have fewer options and therefore tend to use the kinds of control devices most likely to alienate teachers and administrators. In effect, they get caught and their behaviors are defined as much more serious than are those involving symbolic types of messages. It may actually be the case that black and other minority students do break school rules more often than whites, and this may not be totally due to differences in socialization. They may simply be employing the control mechanisms that are most effective, given their backgrounds. Thus, in school settings where disturbances involving overt physical acts are relatively common, and where there are also important class and racial cleavages, administrators would be well advised to examine the relatively more subtle forms of social control being exercised by middle-class and/or white students to see whether these, too, can be modified. Otherwise, any third-party intervention on the part of adults will be defined as unfair.

Patchen (1982), studying interaction patterns in Indianapolis high schools, found that avoidance was most common among those who perceived a power imbalance, in either direction, between blacks and whites. He also found that avoidance and unfriendly contacts were more common among boys than among girls, and that those who were most likely to indicate that their contacts with members of the other race were unfriendly were also those who tended to have more unfriendly contacts with their own race. Presumably, such persons will play more or less important roles in determining student control mechanisms according to the nature of the school climate, the degree to which physical controls are tolerated, and the ability of other students to sanction them by other means.

The Patchen group also found that changes in a school's racial composition may be more important in affecting the level of tension than the actual racial or ethnic percentages (Davidson et al., 1978). Undoubtedly, such changes present a power threat to whichever group is losing ground, and at the same time provide an opportunity to those in the other group who are most inclined to rely on physical control mechanisms. Metz (1978) also noted some very striking differences between the disciplinary atmospheres in the two schools she studied, one being a school that had experienced a gradual change in racial composition, the other having very recently received a substantial influx of blacks. Although administrative responses also differed between the two schools, making it difficult to unconfound the two types of variables, Metz noted that "discipline" and "behavior problems" were much more prominent in the second of these schools, and teachers were also more polarized.

We assume that virtually all contact behaviors are motivated by short-term considerations of individual expected rewards and costs, regardless of possible long-term consequences for the group as a whole. Racial and ethnic minority students who suddenly find themselves in a situation in which they may become the dominant group may therefore be expected to exercise this dominance, even though it may have negative consequences later on when they may encounter whites (or Anglos) in the "outside world," where latent hostilities may be turned against them. At least temporarily they will have shown members of the hated dominant group what it is like to be in a subordinate position. Even where outright domination cannot be achieved, members of such minorities may at least block voluntary contacts by making it clear that whites are resented. As noted, they may do do through a number of techniques, including rudeness, "uncouth" behaviors, and overt avoidance.

Toward the bottom of the right-hand side of Figure 1 there is a box referring to the predictability of one's partner's behaviors. Even where contacts are primarily positive or neutral, a moderate percentage of unfriendly behaviors, occurring at unpredictable intervals, may be sufficient to inhibit members of the other group from initiating contacts, especially when these persons have plenty of alternative partners available from their own groups. Or if members of either group tend to be friendly only when their contacts are not visible to others in their group, and become either indifferent or hostile in situations that are more public, this too will introduce a greater element of uncertainty into the picture. It will also call into question the individual's sincerity unless the control mechanisms operating are very obvious, and unless the interracial partners have reached some form of understanding concerning their friendship. As a general rule, the greater the ambiguity and uncertainty involved in a potential contact situation, the less the expected net benefit (Langley, 1977). Figure 1 also implies that previous contacts with similar partners will affect an actor's expected (intrinsic) benefits from any exchange relationships that may occur, with such beneifts affecting the total expected intrinsic rewards and costs.

Finally, Figure 1 shows both expected extrinsic rewards and costs and the expected intrinsic ones feeding into the box referring to the frequency and duration of intergroup contacts of various kinds. We do not expect students to make a rational "calculation" of costs and benefits, especially when possible contacts are relatively instantaneous, numerous, and individually inconsequential. Nevertheless it is important to stress the expectancy component in that all actors must make decisions under varying degrees of uncertainty. They will of course base these expectations on their own past experiences, not only with members of the other groups but also in connection with the sanctions expected from members of their own group. These many individual short-run decisions are then aggregated (not necessarily in a simple fashion) to produce a general "climate" of interaction patterns that then affects later individual behaviors.

MACRO-LEVEL SETTING VARIABLES

It has been our thesis that to explain a micro-level process such as informal interactions patterns among students, it is first necessary to formulate a micro-level theory, even where one is primarily interested in the impact of macro-level variables in a social setting. One may then take each of the casually prior variables within that micro theory and ask about the setting or macro variables that may affect them. In our case, we have focused on the individual student as actor. For a more inclusive formulation we would next need to list the other types of relevant actors: teachers, administrators, parents and siblings, school boards, political figures, judges or others in a position to make rulings on busing, and so forth. Keeping in mind the narrowed focus on children's interactions, we could then ask how the behaviors of each of these other actors impact on variables such as those suggested in Figure 1.[8]

There is also a general context within which these other actors' behaviors are embedded, and in this final section we shall examine a few of the variables that would seem to be important as additional contextual variables. From the standpoint of theory development, unfortunately, many possible "variables" take on virtually constant values within the American educational system. Thus, in the American setting, such factors should probably be taken as "givens," with the realization that the levels of these givens may have a major impact on the levels of desegregation and intergroup contacts, even though variation in these two dependent variables may be only weakly associated with these virtually constant explanatory variables.

Clearly, if residential segregation were negligible, and if pre-school children's contacts with members of other races or ethnic groups were both frequent and friendly, one would expect negligible segregation and maximal intergroup contact within school settings. Likewise, if nearly all children were socialized similarly, and if they developed approximately the same levels of skills prior to school entry, we would expect that interaction patterns across groups would approximate a chance distribution. But in virtually all large American cities -- and minorities are heavily concentrated in such cities -- blacks and whites are highly segregated from one another, with Hispanics and other whites also being spatially separated. American communities contain differing percentages of several minorities, but unfortunately we know too little about how the presence of multiple groups affects the interaction patterns between any two of them.

There are also a number of constraints imposed by the nature of American public education that result in considerable uniformity from community to community, district to district, and even school to school. Although there are a few experimental schools, magnet schools, or schools located within peculiar neighborhoods (e.g., those close to a college campus), the vast majority of American public schools are very uniform with respect to such things as pupil-teacher ratios, modal classroom arrangements, teacher training, autonomy provided to teachers, disciplinary procedures, classroom hours, curricular and governance procedures. Although authors such as Davidson et al. (1978), McDill and Rigsby (1973) and Metz (1978) have suggested that there may be important differences in school climates, it is often necessary to select highly atypical schools (which differ simultaneously in several ways from the others) in order to locate any school differences at all.

This absence of variation does not imply that, if changes were made in any of these variables, substantial changes in children's interaction patterns might not also occur. If, for example, teacher-pupil ratios were improved by a factor of five, so that closely supervised individual instruction were possible, drastic changes might take place. But it is difficult to imagine that the American public would pay for such an expensive system. Nor can we expect parents to be willing to give greater security to school administrators who attempt to make basic reforms of a controversial nature.

With these preliminary remarks in mind, we may list and briefly discuss several kinds of setting variables suggested by the previous analysis, beginning with those that are most closely linked to the students themselves, and therefore being more likely to have immediate impacts on their interaction patterns.

CLASSROOM LEARNING ACTIVITIES

Research findings (see footnote 5) are sufficiently encouraging to suggest that if teachers were to modify their classroom techniques, this could have immediate impacts not only on students' interaction patterns but also on the extent to which they perceive group differences in performance levels. To the degree that a student's performance is not made public via recitations, the posting of grades, spelling bees, and so forth, there is at least some evidence (Bossert, 1979) to suggest that friendship patterns are also less likely to be correlated with such performance levels. In instances where minority children enter school with fewer competitive skills, or with weaker motivations to compete in the learning process, openly displaying students' skills or lack of skills for all to see tends to place these students at an initial disadvantage which, over time, will not only cumulate, but will also provide tangible criteria, readily available to students, through which racial and ethnic sorting may take place.

In contrast, evidence suggests that team learning projects, through which students are encouraged to cooperate to achieve a common good, will encourage additional intergroup contacts beyond these immediate ones.[9]

COMPETITION FOR SPACE

Spatial layouts may be important when they are not uniform in quality, convenience, or other factors that affect relative desirability. For instance, if there are two very unequal baseball diamonds or playgrounds, one may find that a dominant group--whether defined in terms of age, sex, or race-ethnicity--takes over the most choice locations, with the result that some form of segregation occurs. In such instances, an age-graded hierarchy of dominance will ordinarily be uncorrelated with one based on race and therefore may work in favor of increased contacts among persons of the same age (or grade) but differing race, and a similar pattern will hold if there is considerable segregation by sex. For instance, in an elementary school fifth and sixth graders may take over the most desirable sports facilities, relegating the others to younger students of all races.

Thus it is not at all clear just what the implications will be whenever there are crosscutting lines of cleavage, apart from the high likelihood that spatial locations will be nonrandom. School authorities, by a judicious scheduling of recess or lunch periods or by a reallocation of facilities for specific uses, will be in a position to take advantage of whatever patterns of facility use seem most compatible with those intergroup contacts they wish to encourage. It does not follow, however, that the highest priority will be given to maximizing interracial contacts at the expense, say, of discouraging the domination of younger students by older ones or girls by boys. Further research on this important problem is needed so as to provide more useful specific guidelines as to the conditions under which the competition for space will be defined along racial or ethnic lines, rather than in other terms.

OTHER ORGANIZED ACTIVITIES AND INFORMAL CONTACTS

Evidence suggests that, as children age, there is a strong tendency toward spatial segregation and a very low level of racial contact in connection with strictly voluntary, unstructured activities (Gerard et al., 1975). It therefore seems much easier to encourage intergroup contacts via those structured activities that are likely to be attractive to a diversity of individuals. Musical groups and athletic teams, for example, seem to provide such opportunities for some students, but there is no reason to restrict efforts to these two kinds of activities. A really conscious and explicit policy of seeking out members of underrepresented groups, persuading students from overrepresented groups to welcome them and allow them to play important roles, and encouraging "social" events for participants might very well have an important impact, especially where prestige leaders are members of these same groups. What we are concerned with, here, is the creation of a favorable school "atmosphere" for intergroup contacts. This nebulous concept is more likely to develop a concrete meaning in the context of reasonably structured activities under the supervision of adults sensitized to the objective of improving the quality and quantity of intergroup contacts.

REDUCTION OF CULTURAL DIFFERENCES RELEVANT TO PERFORMANCE

The other contexts of most immediate importance to students are the family and neighborhood. Here, of course, school officials and other policy makers can have virtually no direct impact, except insofar as practices followed within the school either reinforce, or are incompatible with, experiences in these other, more inclusive settings. We confront a major dilemma for those who believe strongly in the "cultural pluralism" thesis. If children become increasingly aware of minor differences as they age, and if sorting processes involve self-selection on the basis of such differences, then it becomes difficult to increase substantially the amount of intergroup interaction without, simultaneously, reducing these differences.

Ideally, children might be taught to appreciate differences while ignoring them in their day-to-day behaviors. But whenever these differences are relevant to their interactions, they will rarely be ignored. Those students who cannot speak "good" English, who play too roughly, or who adhere to very different values relating to personal property, competitiveness, personal cleanliness, and so forth, can be expected to be shunned by typical middle-class white students. And, as compensations, we may then expect these shunned students to retaliate by engaging in behaviors that further offend middle-class white norms.

Presumably, there are many kinds of cultural differences that are of only minor relevance within the school setting and that can be exploited, positively, to encourage a greater appreciation of cultural diversity. Such things as native costumes, religious beliefs, music, and dietary customs can sometimes be emphasized without affecting contact patterns. But where children have been accustomed to very different familial norms and ways of communicating that are highly relevant to their classroom behaviors and ways of interacting with peers, we may expect these differences to become importantant criteria as children select their contact partners. Those who idealize the notion of cultural pluralism need to be aware of its negative consequences. It may prove to be exceedingly difficult to have it both ways!

NEIGHBORHOOD CONTACTS

Although what happens outside of school in neighborhood settings and during summer months and other vacation periods almost constitutes a residual category of factors that may influence within-school interaction patterns, it seems important to note the possibility of one factor that warrants further study. Activity groups may be highly homogeneous with respect to age, with little or no contact between children who are a year or more different in age, or there may be hierarchical arrangements in which older children tend to dominate the activities of younger ones, as in the case of gangs of boys that socialize younger members into the activities of the older ones. Age-homogeneous groupings may tend to be more heterogeneous with respect to race in those instances in which there are two few persons (of the same sex) of a given age to "permit" racial sorting as well. But this may be a function of the spatial density of the neighborhood and the relative and absolute numbers of same-sex, same-age children of each racial or ethnic group. Clearly, considerably more research is needed to disentangle the interrelationships amoung these variables and to study how peer-group norms emerge and are transmitted from one age-group to another.

RACIAL AND ETHNIC GROUP NUMBERS

The empirical evidence regarding the relationship between minority percentage and school contacts is ambiguous.[10] Clearly whenever one or the other group constitutes the overwhelming majority, there will be an obvious imbalance of power among students and also the opportunity for many members of the larger group to avoid interaction with the numerical minority. Especially crucial is the racial or ethnic distribution within classrooms, where friendly contacts and cooperative projects are most frequent. If the current opposition to mandatory busing continues unabated and is combined with movements to suburbs and to private schools, we may soon return to virtually segregated school systems in which racial and ethnic percentages within schools become increasingly extreme in one direction or the other. If so, the vast majority of American school children will be able to complete their educations with minimal exposure to other groups.

Whenever there are multiple racial and ethnic groups within the same school, several patterns may emerge. In some instances a middle-class racial minority, such as Japanese-Americans, may play an intermediary role and lessen the resistance of white parents to the desegregation process. Although this type of situation has apparently not been well studied, it is my impression that a prior period of contact between white and Asian-American students in Seattle schools may have weakened resistance to the various desegregation plans that have been implemented in that city. Multiple ethnic groups may also create tensions within a school system, however, if one ethnic group believes that others are getting more favorable treatment or if student members of the several groups become rivals oriented to increasing the conflict level within a given school. Furthermore, the interests of different minorities may be divergent. Garcia (1981), for example, notes that bilingual education among some Hispanics and Asian immigrants may require a degree of segregation sufficient to provide a critical mass of students to justify such programs in relatively small schools. This, in turn, may place Hispanic and black parents and community leaders on opposite sides of a school busing controversy.

TENSION LEVELS IN COMMUNITY SETTINGS

Many factors including increased unemployment, the rise of demagogic political candidates (including persons running for school board positions), housing shortages, or rapid changes in racial compositions of neighborhoods may increase the level of racial or ethnic tension in the community. As we have implied, the impact of such tension on student behavior can be expected to be indirect and therefore not necessarily very pronounced. It may, however, affect students' attitudes through those of their parents. Secondly, a high level of community tension will affect school board and administrative personnel, making them extremely vulnerable to criticism and hypersensitive to the need to prevent embarrassing incidents in their schools. As we have suggested, this may result in a lack of incentive to encourage any form of contact between groups.

INSECURITY OF SCHOOL OFFICIALS

We have suggested that the American educational system is generally characterized by short-term office-holding among both school boards and top administrative officials. This, of course, makes these actors especially sensitive to public pressures and unwilling to take risks with programs that may become defined as "controversial" if attention if called to their existence.[11] Normally in school settings many kinds of activities occur that are virtually invisible to parents and other outsiders, and everyday contacts among students are likely to be among these relatively noncontroversial activities. Thus administrators generally have considerable flexibility in directing these activities as long as no dramatic and unpopular events are believed to result from them. But the existence of a high level of community tension over racial issues, when combined with a high degree of vulnerability on the part of school officials, can be expected to lead to cautious practices with regard to encouraging cross-group contacts among students. At the same time, this combination of tension and vulerability may also play into the hands of those few student extremists who wish to stir up trouble between student groups.

DECISIVENESS OF ACTION

It has often been pointed out in the race relations literature that unless actions of policy makers are decisive and consistent, there will be an open invitation to pressures from all sides, with a resultant increase in tension levels. Where a school board indicates, for example, that it is enforcing school desegregation only because of court action and that it favors court challenges or organized resistance, we can naturally expect increased tension and polarization among citizen groups.[12] Decisiveness also seems crucial within schools in situations where potential student conflicts are likely, as for example when a community is already polarized.

Yet it is obvious that indecisiveness is not just a function of personality characteristics. If a school board is almost evenly divided on an issue, its decisions may shift according to a single vote. In many instances indecisiveness results from a genuine lack of knowledge and inability to predict the consequences of a given decision. Presumably, officials who are in insecure positions will be less decisive than those whose positions are relatively safe. Thus the degree of decisiveness may often be an indicator of other factors at work within the larger community setting.

Although not quite the same thing as indecisiveness, it is also clear that vacillating or confused policies may result simply because improved intergroup contacts are low priority goals. If the Seattle schools are at all typical of others across the country, considerably more attention may be given to school desegregation or the transfer of bodies from one school to another than to the nature and quality of interaction patterns that occur, once students of different races and ethnic groups have been placed in the same settings. If so, what may appear to be indecisiveness may instead simply be a combination of confusion based on ignorance of the most effective alternatives and on the low priority given to intergroup contacts. Insofar as school administrators are primarily motivated by the goals of avoiding outside pressures and providing reasonable learning environments, we would expect this kind of inattentiveness to interaction processes of a rather mundane nature.

CONCLUSION

In concluding, it is perhaps well to emphasize a point made in the opening paragraphs. It may turn out to be exceedingly difficult to modify the individual behaviors of large numbers of children without making a concerted effort to do so. Yet it seems very unlikely that the American public will place a sufficiently high priority on increasing pressure on school administrators and teachers to make the needed effort. School personnel often stress that their primary objective is to pass along information to the young and to prepare them for a competitive adult life. While lip service may be given to such things as learning to cooperate with others, appreciating cultural differences, and understanding the problems faced by others who may be less fortunate than themselves, it may be too much to expect that an educational system embedded in a society which merely gives lip service to such goals will, itself, be able to induce students to behave very differently from their elders. If so, rapid change with respect to both desegregation and improved intergroup contacts cannot be expected to occur, nor can we realistically hope to locate a few variables or policy changes that will have dramatic effects.

FOOTNOTES

1. For literature reviews see St. John (1975), McConahay (1978), Schofield (1978), and Patchen (1982). Patchen's study represents by far the most detailed and theoretically oriented investigation of interracial contacts that the writer has encountered. For more general discussions of interracial contacts see Allport (1954), Amir (1969), and Blalock and Wilken (1979).

2. For a critique of the American educational system and its linkage to our economic and political institutions see Ogbu (1978 and this volume).

3. For such summaries see Patchen (1982) and Epstein and Karweit (in press).

4. A similar process, of course, occurs in the case of occupational discrimination. We would anticipate that propositions appropriate to occupational competition could, with suitable modification, suggest conditions applicable to school situations. See Blalock (1967).

5. See, especially, Slavin (1979, 1980), Slavin and Madden (1979), Hansell and Slavin (1979), and Hansell et al. (1981).

6. See Granovetter (this volume) for a discussion of tipping effects and the distribution of threshhold effects, both of which seem relevant to this matter of the size of such a critical mass.

7. See Crain (1968) for an interesting discussion of the processes by which school board members are selected and influenced. Stanley Lieberson (personal communication) has pointed out that it may be naive to assume that superintendents with long-term tenure would be any more willing to take risks since they may be subject to other kinds of negative sanctions and also, perhaps, deliberately selected so as to assure their cooperation.

8. For some of these actors it may be fruitful to think in terms of nested contexts, such as classrooms within schools, schools within districts, and districts within states. One may then analyze data in terms of several different levels of aggregation, with the context at one level becoming the unit of analysis at the next higher level. See Eulau (1969), Blau (1980), Boyd and Iversen (1979), Blalock and Wilken (1979, Chapter 7), and McDill and Rigsby (1973). Space considerations do not permit us to explore this possibility in the present chapter, however.

9. It may also be true that competitive team learning projects also increase such contacts, though in slightly different ways. See Hansell et al. (1981) and Slavin (1980).

10. See Patchen (1982) for one set of rather complex findings regarding minority percentages. Certain findings by St. John and Lewis (1975) suggest that minority percentages may have different impacts for boys and girls in elementary schools. The picture also seems confusing in connection with the effects of absolute and relative numbers. Karweit (1976) found that increasing the size of a school tends to reduce students' participation rates, their sense of participation, group cohesiveness, and the degree of consensus on esteem networks. However, it is not clear that these possible effects of size have any bearing on the distribution of interactions across racial or ethnic lines.

11. Crain (1968) discussed a number of factors that may possibly account for differences among school boards in their cohesiveness in implementing desegregation plans, noting that boards composed primarily of political appointees or persons aspiring to political office tend to be more sensitive to outside pressures than are those composed mainly of civic and business leaders.

12. Lieberson (personal communication) has suggested that the existence of such a cout order may enable a board to deflect hostility away from itself and thus, perhaps, enable it to present a more united front.

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TRAIT THEORY REVISITED:
A COGNITIVE SOCIAL LEARNING VIEW OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Walter Mischel

The theoretical background for studying school desegregation has been a curious mix. On the one hand, sociologists and social psychologists traditionally have been committed to clarifying the role of socio-cultural context and "situation" in the analysis and explanation of human behavior. Indeed, recognition of the importance of the situation is a hallmark of both sociology and social psychology. On the other hand, a good deal of desegregation research by psychologists has been implicitly or explicitly modeled on the assumptions of traditional personality psychology. (See Mischel, 1968, for a review.) In that approach, one begins (and ends) not with an analysis of the particular situation but with a focus on the required personal characteristics of the participants in that situation. An illustrative large-scale example is Gerard and Miller's (1975) effort to narrow the achievement gap between Anglo and minority children by exposing them to a desegregation situation. Guided by the traditional personality theory perspective and strategy, Gerard and Miller assumed that ethnic differences in personality and in broad dispositions--such as achievement orientation--underlie differences in the actual academic achievements of the children. Perhaps most fundamental, Gerard and Miller assumed further that certain personality traits (e.g., high self-esteem, tolerance for delayed gratification) are centrally related to academic achievement: change the personality traits (e.g., through the desegregation experience) and achievement changes will naturally follow. For example, a core assumption of their study was that "increased self-esteem will lead to increased achievement" (Gerard and Miller, 1975: 285).

The massive and elegant data provided by their study surprised the psychologists who conducted it and profoundly challenged the traditional personality perspective that guided them. For example, the correlations between personality traits and achievement in their data were found to "account for a relatively miniscule amount of the variance in scholastic achievement" (Gerard and Miller, 1975: 285). Further, and perhaps as a function of contemporary changes in social structure, it may be that "individual differences in stable, enduring personality systems of internality, tolerance for delay, and achievement motivation, occupy an increasingly weaker position in their ability to explain what people actually do--their educational achievement and attainment" (Gerard and Miller, 1975: 291). After reviewing the voluminous, enormously costly data collected by them, the authors concluded:

> In sum, our data show that desegregation is no simple panacea for counter-acting the increasing achievement gap between white and minority students as they progress through school. Our findings suggest that major personality changes are not prerequisites for

> narrowing the gap and point instead toward the potential of situational factors in the educational setting that can be directly altered--teacher behavior and peer acceptance. In this sense they are encouraging; beneficial effects need not await basic changes in personality structures. They further show that simply implementing a bussing or desegregation program will not by itself achieve "integration" in the full sense of the word. Beyond desegregation, additional procedures must be developed to foster integration of the minority child into the classroom social structure and academic program (Gerard and Miller, 1975: 302-303).

Such a sweeping rejection of the relevance of the traditional personality trait approach to desegregation would be easy to minimize (e.g., as reflecting only methodological weaknesses, deficits, or peculiarities in the studies done so far) if it stood alone. But it does not. It must be seen in the context of the larger challenge to the usefulness of this type of personality approach, a challenge that has been formulated beginning in the 1960's (e.g., Bandura, 1969; Mischel, 1968; Peterson, 1968; Vernon, 1965). To understand that challenge and its possible implications for the desegregation problem, a first step is to review the assumptions and states of the traditional approach more closely.

TRADITIONAL PERSONALITY TRAIT APPROACHES

ASSUMPTIONS

It has generally been assumed that the basic units of personality study are personality dispositions or traits. They are assumed to be relatively stable, highly consistent attributes that exert widely generalized causal effects on behavior. Thus personality consists of broad underlying dispositions that pervasively influence the person's behavior across many situations and lead to consistency in his behavior (e.g., Allport, 1937). These dispositions are not directly observed but are inferred from behavioral signs (trait indicators), either directly or indirectly (Mischel, 1968). Guided by this assumption, personality research has been a search for such underlying broad dimensions, in many forms (e.g., basic factors, motives, characteristic coping styles). These trait assumptions are seen in the existence of hundreds of personality tests designed to try to infer dispositions, while there are almost no tests to measure situations. The same belief in global traits that manifest themselves pervasively is perhaps best seen in the projective test assumption that responses to vague or minimal stimuli will reveal individual differences in fundamental generalized dispositions (MacFarlane and Tuddenham, 1951). In the context of desegregation, these assumptions are embodied in both the conception and design of the Gerard and Miller study. Namely, ethnic differences in achievement reflect differences in personality dispositions (e.g., the ability to delay gratification, to plan and work for long-term goals) that supposedly underlie successful achievement: the desegregation experience should allow these dispositions to become more equally shared by different ethnic groups, resulting in more equitable achievement.

A main goal of traditional trait psychology has been to discover the individual's position on one or more personality dimensions by comparing him or her with other persons tested under similar conditions. It was assumed that an individual's position on these dimensions would be relatively stable across testing situations and over lengthy time-periods, if the test was sufficiently reliable. Therefore the main focus in trait psychology was on the development of reliable instruments administered under standard conditions. Such instruments were thought to tap accurately the person's presumably stable, highly generalized traits across a relatively large number of situations or settings.

The early psychometricians tended to follow the example of simple physical measurement, hoping that the measurement of traits would be basically similar to such measurements as table length with rulers or temperature with thermometers. They unquestioningly assumed that broad trait structures exist and lead people to behave consistently. Consequently, they did not pay much attention to the role of environmental variables as determinants of behavior. Instead, they concentrated on standardization of measurement conditions in the hope that broad traits would emerge.

EVIDENCE: HOW BROAD OR SPECIFIC ARE TRAITS?

Will a person who is "conscientious" about homework also be conscientious about keeping social appointments and honoring obligations to other people? Will an individual who is anxious about school also be anxious about meeting strangers or taking on a new job? How broad (general) or specific (narrow) are traits like conscientiousness and anxiety? Do people have dispositions that reveal themselves consistently in a wide range of behaviors and over many situations? These questions have been asked for years, and the answers remain the subject of intense debate. Perhaps no topic in personality psychology is more controversial--and more important--than the question of the relative specificity versus generality of traits.

Trait theorists have been surprised by a great deal of research indicating that performances on trait measures are affected by a variety of situations or conditions, and can be modified by numerous environmental changes (Masling, 1960; Mischel, 1974; Peterson, 1968; Vernon, 1964). Most important, it has been found that normal people tend to show considerable variability in their behavior even across seemingly similar contexts. A person may delay, for example, all sorts of immediate gratification and work hard and well to prepare for next year's carnival, but be unwilling to wait even one day for a better notebook (Mischel, 1966, 1974). Such behaviors as delay of gratification, or other forms of self-control and planfulness, may be highly specific, varying as a result of slight situational alternations, such as subtle changes in the particular delayed rewards or in the conditions necessary for their attainment. Thus behavior may be much more situation-specific and discriminative than early trait theorists had thought. Such patterns as "achievement orientation" may hinge on many considerations and depend on many factors (Mischel, 1981a).

Studies of individual differences on common trait dimensions have produced many extensive networks of correlations. These associations tend to be large and enduring when people rate themselves or others with broad trait terms (e.g., Block, 1971). For example, on questionnaires people may describe their traits consistently (e.g., E. L. Kelly, 1955). When ongoing behavior in specific situations is sampled objectively by different, independent measures, however, the association generally tends to be quite modest. Thus while people often show consistency on questionnaires and ratings, these data tend to have limited value for predicting their actual behavior in specific situations (Mischel, 1973, 1981a).

The correlational research on "delay of gratification", for example, is fairly representative of correlational research on other personality dimensions. Some supporting validity data tend to be easily obtained. The networks of relationships from such research extend far and wide and provide ample evidence that people's tendency to defer immediate satisfactions for the sake of larger, more valued but delayed goals, has some consistency, that it is not totally situation-specific, that there are clear threads of coherence and continuity (e.g., Block and Block, 1980; Mischel, 1966). What a person does in one setting is not independent of what he does in other settings, and it is, of course, related to what he did before and to what he will probably do again. In general, however, correlational work on voluntary delay of reward and on other personality dispositions suggests that the strength of the associations tends to be too low for confident predictions about behavior in the individual case. They also may be too low to be the main or exclusive basis for social policy and for major social programs.

We therefore have to be most cautious about generalizing from an individual's test behavior to his or her personality and behavior outside the test. For example, we cannot safely conclude that a child's unwillingness to work for better grades in arithmetic class precludes his behaving in highly delay-oriented ways under certain life conditions in which, for example, his self-confidence or trust is greater. In the present view, such qualities as self-control are not situation-free attributes. They depend on many modifying conditions and hence are relatively specific across contexts.

"Behavioral specificity," or the dependence of behavior on specific situational conditions, has been discovered regularly on character traits like self-control, rigidity, or social conformity, or honesty, or aggression, or on most other personality dimensions (Mischel, 1968, 1981a; Peake, 1982; Peterson, 1968; Vernon, 1964). Specificity tends to be high, for example, among the components of traits like conscientiousness, or attitudes toward authority--although trait theorists originally believed these to be highly generalized dispositions. Results of this kind present a basic problem for approaches to personality that assume the existence of relatively situation-free, broad dispositions. They also present a serious challenge to desegregation approaches that rely on a "large lumps" conception of personality and of social behavior.

The phrase "personality coefficient" has been coined to describe the modest correlation (usually between .20 and .30) typically found in personality research linking responses on questionnaires to other behavior (Mischel, 1968). Such correlations are too small to have value for most individual assessment purposes other than gross screening decisions. The evaluation of all data on trait consistency depends of course on the standards selected to evaluate them. A modest consistency coefficient (of about .30, for example) can be taken as evidence of either the relative specificity of the particular behaviors or the presence of some cross-situational generality (Burton, 1963). Furthermore, one has to infer dispositions from imperfect behavioral measurements that involve errors. Nevertheless, it is increasingly being recognized that behavioral fluctuations reflect more than imperfections in measuring instruments (Mischel and Peake, 1982). On most traits most people show only limited consistency across most situations. The utility of describing everyone in broad trait terms (e.g., "impulsive," "achievement oriented") therefore has to be questioned deeply.

BEHAVIOR STABILITY OVER TIME

The specificity of behavior across situations should not be confused with its stability over time in similar situations. In fact, there is continuity over long periods of time, especially when people rate themselves or when observers rate them (Block and Block, 1980; Epstein, 1979; Mischel, 1968, 1979). And these two types of ratings often are significantly related to each other and to relevant behavior. Consistency over time and agreement among judges in personality ratings are not disputed (Mischel and Peake, 1982). Indeed, there is increasing evidence showing impressive coherence in behavior patterns even when measured over many years (Block and Block, 1980). Lives do have coherence, and we tend to view ourselves and others as relatively stable people, without questioning our basic identity and continuity over time.

What _is_ in dispute is the consistency of behavior not over time or in similar situations but across increasingly dissimilar situations; that is disputed especially when one infers personality dimensions from ongoing behavior sampled by methods that go beyond trait ratings, such as direct observations. Studies with objective measures of behavior as it occurs naturally have indicated that a given individual's actions are often rather specific to the particular situation and tend to be patterned uniquely (e.g., Mischel, 1968; Mischel and Peake, 1982; Peterson, 1968; Shweder, 1975; Shweder and D'Andrade, 1979).

Objective, specific measures of ongoing behavior tend to yield erratic evidence of consistency across situations. While the patterns are often coherent and meaningful (i.e., nonrandom), they also tend to be complex and unevenly related to personality ratings (Block, 1977).

DEFENSE OF TRAITS

Though many psychologists acknowledge that the specific situation is important, they remain convinced that past research has underestimated the personal constancies in behavior. They note that if we want to test how well a disposition (trait) can be used to predict behavior, we have to sample adequately not only the disposition but also the behavior that we want to predict (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1977; Block, 1977; Epstein, 1979; Jaccard, 1974; Weigel and Newman, 1976). In the past, researchers often attempted to predict single acts (for example, physical aggression when insulted) from a dispositional measure (e.g., self-rated aggression). Generally such attempts did not succeed. But while measures of traits may not be able to predict such single acts they may do much better if one uses a "multiple-act criterion," i.e., a pooled combination of many behaviors that are relevant to the trait.

In this vein, there have been a number of demonstrations that reliability will increase when the number of items in a test sample are increased and combined. It is important to remember that "there is nothing magical about a correlation coefficient, and its interpretation depends on many considerations. The accuracy of reliability of measurement increases with the length of the test. Since no single item is a perfect measure, adding items increases the chance that the test will elicit a more accurate sample and yield a better estimate of the person's behavior" (Mischel, 1968: 37). Making this point empirically, Epstein (1979) demonstrated that temporal stability (of, for example, self-reported emotions and experiences recorded daily, and observer judgments) becomes much larger when it is based on averages over many days than when it is based on only single items on single days. Such demonstrations help by reminding psycholcgists again that reliability is essential before one can hope to have validity. However, most of the evidence so far again is relevant to the temporal stability of traits. It does not suggest broad cross-situational consistency of behavior in personal domains (Mischel and Peake, 1982).

INTERACTION OF DISPOSITIONS AND CONDITIONS

Some investigators have tried to analyze the role of situations and conditions as well as the role of dispositions. In the last decade, sophisticated trait research has begun to take situations and "stimulus conditions" into account seriously (e.g., Argyle and Little, 1972; Endler, 1973, 1982; Moos, 1974). Knowledge of individual differences alone often tells us little unless it is combined with information about the conditions and situational variables that influence the behavior of interest. Conversely, the effects of conditions depend on the individuals in them. Research results consistently suggest that the interaction of individual differences and particular conditions tends to be most important.

Moos' (1968) studies of self-reported reactions by staff and psychiatric patients to various settings in the hospital provide a typical example. The findings were based on ratings in nine settings with regard to a dimension of "sociable, friendly, peaceful" versus "unsociable, hostile, angry" behavior. These results revealed, first, that different individuals reacted differently to the settings. Second, a given person might be high on the dimension in the morning but not at lunch, high with another patient but not with a nurse, low in small group therapy, moderate in industrial therapy, but high in individual therapy, etc. An entirely different pattern might characterize the next person. It seems reasonable to believe that parallel results would be found in an analysis of children's reactions to school settings and to different components of the desegregation situation.

We might be able to predict many of the things a child will do simply by knowing something about the particular context of the school desegration situation in which he or she will be. For example, we might be able to predict a good deal from information about the proportions of children from the various ethnic groups present in the situation, their attitudes towards each other in that context, the specific task structure of the activity (e.g., requiring intergroup cooperation versus implying competition), and or the type of task (e.g., highly valued by one group but not by the other). Indeed predictions based on such fine-grained specific information about the particular "psychological situation" might be more efficacious than those based on inferences about the children's global dispositions.

The limited utility of inferring hypothesized global trait dispositions from behavioral signs does not mean that situations are more important than persons (Bowers, 1973). Is information about the individual more important than information about the situation? I have persistently refused to pose this question because, phrased that way, it is unanswerable and can serve only to stimulate futile debates. In these debates "situations" are often incorrectly invoked as entities that supposedly exert either major or only minor control over behavior, without specifying what, psychologically, they are or how they function (Alker, 1972; Bowers, 1973; Wallach and Leggett, 1972). But while some situations may be powerful determinants of behavior, others are likely to be exceedingly trivial (Mischel, 1977). The relative importance of individual differences will depend on the situation selected, the type of behavior assessed, the particular individual differences sampled and the purpose of the assessment or research.

MODERATOR VARIABLES

Many "moderator variables" may influence the correlations found in trait research (e.g., Bem and Allen, 1974; Kogan and Wallach, 1964; Wallach, 1962). That is, the relations between any two variables often depend on several other variables. For instance, correlations between measures of risk-taking and impulsivity may be found for males but not for females; they may even be negative for one sex but positive for the other. Similarly, relations between two measures might be positive for children with low IQ but negative for highly intelligent children, or they might occur under "relaxed" testing conditions but not under "anxious" conditions. The concept of moderator variables was introduced to trait theory to refer to the fact that the effects of any particular disposition generally are "moderated" by or dependent upon many other conditions and variables. Such variables as the person's age, sex, IQ, the experimenter's sex, and the characteristics of the situation all are common moderators.

Research on dispositions has begun to recognize more fully the extraordinary complexity of the interactions found between person variables and conditions (Mischel, 1981b). When one examines closely the interactions obtained in research on the effects of dispositions and conditions, the number of moderator variables required to predict behavior, and the complexity of their interrelationships (e.g., McGuire, 1960), tend to become most formidable (Cronbach, 1975). For example, to predict a child's voluntary delay of gratification, one may have to know how old he is, his sex, the experimenter's sex, the particular objects for which he is waiting, the consequences of not waiting, the models to whom he was just exposed, his immediately prior experiences--the list gets almost endless (Mischel, 1973). This seems to be another way of saying that what a person does tends to be relatively specific to a host of variables, and that behavior is multiply determined by all of them rather than being the product of widely generalized dispositions. Let me emphasize again that this does not imply that predictions cannot be made from person variables to relevant behaviors, but it does suggest severe limits on the range and level of relationships that can be expected. As a representative example, consider one effort to relate individual differences in young children's expectancies about locus of control to their behavior in theoretically relevant situations (Mischel et al., 1974). To explore these interactions, the Stanford Preschool Internal-External Scale was developed as a measure of expectancies about whether events occur as a consequence of the child's own action ("internal control") or as a consequence of external forces ("external control"). Expectancies about locus of control were measured separately for positive and negative events so that scores reflect expectancies for degree of internal control of positive events (I+), or negative events (I-), and a sum of these two (total I). Individual differences in I+, I-, and total I then were correlated with the children's ability to delay gratification under diverse working and waiting conditions. The results provided highly specific but theoretically meaningful patterns of relationships. To illustrate, relationships between total I and overall delay behavior were negligible, and I+ was unrelated to I-. As expected, I+ (but not I-) was found to be related to persistence in three separate situations where instrumental activity would result in a positive outcome; I- (but not I+) was related to persistence when instrumental activity could prevent the occurrence of a negative outcome.

The total results indicated that individual differences in children's beliefs about their ability to control outcomes are partial determinants of their goal-directed behavior, but the relationships hinge on extremely specific moderating conditions, both with regard to the type of behavior and the type of belief. If such moderating conditions had not been considered and all indices of "delay behavior" had been combined regardless of their positive or negative valence, the actual role of the relevant individual differences would have been totally obscured. While the results were of considerable theoretical interest, the number and mean level of the achieved correlations were not appreciably higher than those typically found in correlational personality research. Moreover, the ability of these correlations to survive cross-validation remains to be demonstrated empirically.

The more moderators we need to qualify a trait, the more the "trait" becomes a relatively specific description of a behavior-situation unit. That is, the more highly circumscribed, "moderated," and situation-specific the trait, the more it becomes indistinguishable from a specific behavior-situation description. When a great many strings of hyphenated moderator variables are needed, the behavioral "signs" from which the disposition is inferred may become equivalent to the inferred disposition and make the inference gratuitous. As we increasingly qualify the description of a person to specify the exact response modes and conditions in which a particular behavior will occur, we move from broad characterizations with generalized traits to describing his or her specific behavior in particular forms and under particular conditions.

THE COGNITIVE SOCIAL LEARNING VIEW

MULTIPLE DETERMINANTS: "CONTEXTUALISM"

What, then, are the implications of results like these for how one approaches the study of desegregation and, more generally, the problem of measuring human qualities? In my view, one of the major lessons from the history of personality measurement is the recognition that complex human behavior tends to be influenced by many determinants and reflects the almost inseparable and continuous interaction of a large number of variables both in the person and in the situation. And if human behavior is determined by many interacting variables--both in the person and in the environment--then a focus on any one of them is likely to lead to limited predictions and generalizations. In the context of desegregation, this means that it may be naive to expect any one set of changes (e.g., racially mixed classrooms) automatically to have a broad impact (e.g., on school achievement, intergroup relations, self-concepts). The impact is likely to depend on many other variables, including the details of the specific situation.

This recognition of multiple determinism and specificity has profound implications, and it may be increasingly shared not only across many areas of psychology but even more generally in the social sciences. The same basic conclusion has been reached in analyses of topics as diverse as the impact of teaching practices and classroom arrangements in education, the effects of interview styles in psychotherapy, and the role of instructions to aid recall in memory experiments (Mischel, 1977). For example, after a survey of research on memory, Jenkins (1974: 793) cautioned, "What is remembered in a given situation depends on the physical and psychological context in which the event was experienced, the knowledge and skills that the subject brings to the context, the situation in which we ask for evidence for remembering, and the relation of what the subject remembers to what the experimenter demands." The sentence would hold just as well if we substituted action for memory. Thus, what is done (or thought, or felt) in a given situation depends on the physical and psychological context in which the event was experienced, the knowledge and skills that the subject brings to the context, the situation in which we ask for evidence, etc. Identical conclusions probably would be reached for the subject matter of any other area of psychology and perhaps throughout the social sciences. Hence it becomes difficult to achieve broad, sweeping generalizations about human behavior; many qualifiers (moderators) must be appended to our "laws" about cause-and-effect relations--almost without exception and perhaps with no exceptions at all (Cronbach, 1975).

Specificity (or "contextualism," as Jenkins put it) may occur because there are so many different ways in which different people may react to the "same" treatments and reinterpret them (e.g., Cronbach, 1975; Neisser, 1974) and because the impact of most situations can usually be changed easily by coexisting conditions (Mischel, 1974). Thus, even a relatively simple "situation" may produce a variety of often unpredictable specific (and weak) effects, depending on a large number of moderating variables and the many different ways in which the particular "subjects" may view them and transform them.

Contextualism suggests the need to specify carefully circumscribed goals. In my view, more modest, specific, highly qualified goals may be refreshing for a field in which false hopes have often produced depression (e.g., Cronbach, 1975; Fiske, 1974; Gerard and Miller, 1975). The need to qualify generalizations about human behavior complicates life for the social scientist and for the social planner alike. But it does not prevent one from studying human affairs scientifically or from generating sensible social policy and plans. It does, however, demand a respect for the complexity of the enterprise and alerts one to the dangers of oversimplifying the nature and causes of human behavior or the "cures" for human problems. It should be clear that this danger is equally great whether one is searching for generalized (global) person-free situational effects or for generalized (global) situation-free personality variables. In the context of personality measurement generally, and the study of desegregation in particular, serious recognition of multiple determinism and interactions has many specific implications. It calls for a careful specification of goals with more modest, clearly circumscribed expectations. For example, while desegregation may be a socially, culturally and morally desirable objective in its own right, it should not be endowed with global curative powers for enhancing the performance of under-achievers. Whether or not children achieve more or less hinges on the learning conditions and support for achievement in the classroom and home, to which desegregation may only be marginally related. So, one might study what enhances better achievement, better interactions, and better group cooperation, in terms of specific conditions within the school culture and its psychological milieu, rather than as the global fall-out of a desegregation effort. Many methods for studying such more specific interations exist and can be applied readily to the investigation of desegregation (e.g., Patterson, 1974; Raush, 1974).

STUDYING PERSONS IN THE COGNITIVE SOCIAL LEARNING APPROACH

A cognitive social learning approach contends that the discriminativeness of behavior and the complexity of the interactions between the person and the situation imply that we must focus more specifically on what the person constructs (does, thinks, and feels) in particular situations, instead of attempting to infer the global traits he or she generally has. A cognitive social learning approach to assessment and research focuses on the individual's cognitive activities and behavior patterns, studied in relation to the specific conditions that evoke, maintain, and modify such activities and patterns and which they, in turn, change (Mischel, 1968, 1973, 1979). Instead of trying to compare and generalize about what different individuals "are like," this approach assesses what the individuals do--behaviorally and cognitively--in relationship to the psychological conditions in which they do it and on which the particular investigation focuses. Attention shifts in this approach from describing situation-free people with broad trait adjectives to analyzing the specific interactions between conditions and the cognitions and behaviors of interest. In the context of desegregation this viewpoint implies that the researcher must begin by clearly specifying the particular outcomes that are desired in fine-grain detail. These outcomes need to be specified as concretely as possible (i.e., not in global terms) and anchored to particular contexts. For example, one might want, as a goal, to increase classroom cooperation between minority and Anglo children. If so, clear referents that define such cooperation, its nature and settings, need to be spelled out in terms of the desired actions and attitudes. The conditions in the situation that would increase those outcomes then need to be clarified by a functional analysis in which relations between the hypothesized variables and the desired outcomes are systematically explored. (For example, see Mischel, 1968, 1981b; Patterson, 1974.)

Cognitive social learning person variables include the individual's competencies to construct (generate) diverse behaviors under appropriate conditions. In addition, we have to consider the person's encoding and categorization of events and people, including the self. To understand what a person will perform in particular situations we also have to attend to his or her expectancies, the subjective values of any expected outcomes, and the individual's self-regulatory systems and plans. While the variables overlap and interact, each may offer some distinctive information about the person and each may alert us to somewhat different aspects of individuality. And each person variable may be seen both as a product of the individual's total history and as a mediator of the impact of any future experiences. The person variables on which a particular investigation focuses should be dictated by the investigation's goals. Thus in the study of desegregation, for example, one would attend particularly to those competencies required for the particular desegregation goals, e.g., improved academic achievement. Likewise, one might attend to the ways in which the children from different ethnic groups encode or construe themselves, and each other, within the context of particular desegregation situations. Let us consider each person variable briefly.

Cognitive and Behavioral Construction Competencies

Throughout the course of life, people learn about the world and their relationship to it, thus acquiring an enormous potential to generate a vast array of knowledge and organized behavior. While the accumulation of this potential seems an obvious product of cognitive development, just what gets learned is not so obvious. The products of such socialization and cognitive growth encompass the social knowledge and rules that guide conduct, the personal constructs one generates about the self and others, and a vast array of social and cognitive skills and competencies. The concept of cognitive and behavioral construction competencies refers to these diverse products and is intended to be broad enough to include the wide range of psychological acquisitions that must be encompassed.

To assess competencies we must create conditions and incentives to encourage optimal performance. The necessary assessment conditions for this purpose are the same as those employed in ability and achievement testing (Wallace, 1966). We can use the same strategy to assess what people "know" (their available information, comprehension, and construction skills) and what social behaviors they are capable of executing. For example, to assess what children had acquired from observing a model, attractive rewards were offered to them after the observation period. Getting the rewards was contingent upon their reproducing the model's behaviors (e.g., Bandura, 1965; Grusec and Mischel, 1966). The findings demonstrated that the children had acquired a great deal of information from observation of the model and could reconstruct the modeled behavior in detail, but did so only when offered appropriate incentives. It seems most likely that children in desegregation situations know many behaviors that would enhance inter-group cooperation for mutual benefit, but fail to do so due to inadequate incentives and opposing pressures (e.g., from peers).

Assessing a person's potential cognitive constructions and behavioral enactments, measuring social, interpersonal, and cognitive skills, requires that we test what the individual can do (under the appropriate conditions of interest) rather than what he usually does. One of the most persistent and promising individual-differences dimensions seems to involve such cognitive and behavioral (social) competencies (e.g., Zigler and Phillips, 1961, 1962; White, 1959). Such competencies may have much better temporal and cross-situational stability, and more pervasive consequences for coping and adaptation, than many of the social and motivational dispositions favored in traditional personality research that ignored cognitive characteristics (Mischel, 1968).

Construction capacities tend to be relatively stable over time, as reflected in the relatively high stability found in performances closely related to cognitive and intellectual variables (Mischel, 1968, 1969). They also may contribute significantly to the impression of consistency in personality. A person who knows how to solve certain self-monitoring and assertiveness skills, remains capable of performing skillfully in relevant situations over long periods of time.

Cognitive competencies (as measured by "mental age" and IQ tests) seem to be among the best predictors of later social and interpersonal adjustment (e.g., Anderson, 1960). Moreover, more competent, brighter people experience more interpersonal success and better work achievements and therefore become more benignly assessed by themselves and by others on the ubiquitous evaluative "good-bad" dimension in trait ratings (e.g., Vernon, 1964). In other words, they may tend to have somewhat higher self-esteem and to be esteemed more by others. Likewise, cognitive competencies presumably are a key component of such enduring concepts as "ego strength" and "ego development." Interestingly, the large "first factor" found regularly on tests like the MMPI (Block, 1965), usually given labels connoting "adjustment" at the positive end and maladaptive character structure at the negative end, may reflect the person's level of cognitive-social competence and achievement to a considerable extent. The assessment of competence in response to specific problematic situations in the direct manner developed by Goldfried and D'Zurilla (1969) is one good example. The assessment of social competence is also seen nicely in the social problem-solving approach with young children (e.g., Krasnor and Rubin, 1981; Shure and Spivack, 1978).

Encoding Strategies and Constructs

The recognition that human behavior depends on the "situation as coded" requires that we assess how individuals perceive, think, interpret, and experience the world. By definition, a cognitive orientation to the assessment of persons includes a focus not on the "objective" situation in itself but on the psychological situation as it is represented cognitively and seen by the perceiver. This focus on the person's perception of the world dictates attention to the individual's own personal constructs or ways of encoding experience. In this vein, George Kelly's (1955) pioneering search for assessments that illuminate the client's personal constructs rather than the clinician's preferred hypotheses provide a most impressive conceptual and empirical milestone. The current impact of Kelly's perspective is still dramatic. (See, for example, Neimeyer and Neimeyer, 1981.)

As Kelly emphasized, the "subject" (like the psychologist) also groups events into categories and organizes them into meaningful units. People do not describe their experiences with operational definitions. They categorize events in terms of personal constructs that may or may not overlap with those of the assessor. The tendency to categorize things and people into categories, so that nonidentical events can be treated as if they were equivalent (Rosch et al., 1976), is a basic feature of cognition. We continously simplify the flood of information impinging from the world, grouping objects and other people according to their similarities into natural categories of "kinds" or "types" (of chairs, of children, of teachers, of blacks and whites, of psychologists). These categorization schemes permit us to structure our general knowledge about events, people, and the social world, yielding coherent expectations about characteristic patterns of behavior. While research on social cognition has discovered much about the consequence of categorization (as in "stereotyping"), so far much less is known about the structure and growth of people's natural categories about the social world. A comprehensive approach requires that we also consider a variety of questions. What are the basic natural units for the categorization of people and psychological situations? What are the gains and losses of categorizations at different levels of abstraction? What are the rules used to judge that someone does or does not fit a particular "person type" or that "John is (or is not) a typical extravert"? Questions of this kind have guided our recent explorations of natural categories in social cognition (e.g., Cantor and Mischel, 1979; Cantor et al., 1982), in efforts to assess how individuals categorize types of people (extraverts, social climbers) and types of psychological situations (dates, business meetings, classrooms).

While much of this research is only of theoretical interest to the student of desegregation, there also are some possible practical implications. For example, many methods have been developed to study the "natural categorization" of people into such categories as "good students," "disruptive child," or "angry and withdrawn misfit." (See Cantor and Mischel, 1979; Cantor et al., 1982; Horowitz et al., 1981, for examples.) Such methods may be readily adaptable to study how teachers, children, and other people categorize and stereotype each other--often in disadvantageous ways--in the desegregation situation. Certainly it seems worth studying the perceptions of participants in the desegration situation as those perceptions bear on the goals of the effort and on the desegregation process itself.

Expectancies

When one turns from what people can do and how they categorize the world to what they actually do, one goes from construction capacity and constructs to the selection and execution of performance in specific situations. To analyze or predict behavior in a given situation requires attention to the person's expectancies about alternative behavioral possibilities in that situation. The person's expectancies (hypotheses) guide the selection (choice) of behaviors from among the many that could be constructed in a given context. For example, a child's willingness to cross the physical or psychological barriers between ethnic groups in a particular context (e.g., the gym, the playground) depends on his or her expectations about the probable consequences.

Behavior-outcome expectancies are hypotheses or contingency rules that represent the if/then relations between behavioral alternatives and probable outcomes anticipated for particular situations. Expectancy-value theories predict that people will generate the response patterns which they expect are most likely to lead to the most subjectively valuable outcomes (consequences) in any given situation (e.g., Mischel, 1973; Rotter, 1954). When there is no new information about the behavior-outcome expectancies in any situation, performance depends on previous behavior-outcome expectancies in similar situations. But new information about behavior-outcome relations in the particular situation may overcome the effects of pre-situational expectancies, so that specific situational expectancies soon become major determinants of performance (Mischel and Staub, 1965). When the consequences expected for performance change, so does behavior, although strongly established behavior-outcome expectancies may constrain an individual's ability to adapt to changes in contingencies. The bahavior-outcome expectancy construct has been central in social learning personality theories for several decades, and diverse methods are available for its assessment (Rotter, 1954; Rotter et al., 1972).

A special aspect of expectancy, self-efficacy--defined as the person's conviction that he or she can execute the behavior required by a particular situation--has come into focus more recently (Bandura, 1978). Self-efficacy is assessed by asking the person to indicate the degree of confidence that he or she can do a particular task which is described in detail. The perceptions of one's own efficacy may importantly guide and direct one's behavior. The close connection between high self-efficacy expectations and effective performance is illustrated in studies of people who received various treatments to help reduce their fear of snakes. A consistently high association was found between the degree to which persons improved from treatment (becoming able to handle snakes fearlessly) and their perceived self-efficacy, assessed by asking people specifically to predict their ability to do each given act successfully (Bandura and Adams, 1977). Results of this kind suggest strong and clear links between self-perceptions of one's competence and the ability to behave competently, and demonstrate again that when the right questions are asked people can be excellent predictors of their own behaviors. These results also indicate that the best way to increase children's specific achievements is by providing concrete, guided opportunities and experiences that enhance the children's self-efficacy expectations for those achievement tasks. Such self-efficacy enhancement is likely to work best one step at a time in a carefully guided sequence until increasing levels of mastery are virtually guaranteed (Bandura, 1982). Such specific mastery training is a most promising way to enhance the achievement potential of disadvantaged children. Such programs to enhance academic self-efficacy and achievement can be adapted readily to also encourage inter-group cooperation by leading the participants to believe they can do so successfully.

Although expectancies seem clearly central person variables, it would be a mistake to transform them into generalized trait-like dispositions by endowing them with broad cross-situational consistency or by forgetting that they depend on specific stimulus conditions, on particular contexts. Empirically, "generalized expectancies" tend to be generalized only within relatively narrow, restricted limits (e.g., Mischel and Staub, 1965; Mischel et al., 1974). We already noted that, for example, "locus of control" may have limited generality, with distinct, unrelated expectancies found for positive and negative outcomes and with highly specific behavioral correlates for each (Mischel et al., 1974). If we convert expectancies into global trait-like dispositions and remove them from their close interaction with situational conditions, they may well prove to be no more useful than their many theoretical predecessors. But construed as relatively specific (and modifiable) subjective hypotheses about behavior-outcome contingencies and personal competencies, expectancies may be readily assessed and serve as useful predictors of both academic and social behavior.

Subjective Values and Preferences

The behaviors people choose to perform also depend on the subjective values of the outcomes which they expect. Different individuals value different outcomes and also share particular values in different degrees. Unless children from different ethnic groups value such goals as desegregated classroom contacts, there is no reason why they should seek them. Therefore it is necessary to assess still another person variable: the subjective (perceived) value for the individual of particular classes of events, that is, his or her stimulus preferences and aversions, as they bear on the desegregation situation. This requires assessing the major stimuli that have acquired the power to induce positive or negative emotional states in the person and to function as incentives or reinforcers for behavior. Subjective values can be assessed by measuring the individual's actual choices in life-like situations, as well as verbal preferences or ratings for different choices and activities (Bullock and Merrill, 1980). Verbal reports (e.g., on questionnaires) about values and interests also may supply valuable information about the individual's preferences and aversions, and appear to provide some of the more temporally stable data in the domain of personality (E. L. Kelly, 1955; Strong, 1955).

Alternatively, people may be asked to rank-order actual rewards (Rotter, 1954), or the reinforcement value of particular stimuli may be assessed directly by observing their effects on the individual's performance (e.g., Gewirtz and Baer, 1958). Reinforcement (incentive) preferences may also be assessed by providing individuals opportunities to select the outcomes they want from a large array of alternatives, as when patients earn tokens which they may exchange for objects or activities. The "price" they are willing to pay for particular outcomes provides an index of subjective value (e.g., Ayllon and Azrin, 1965).

Self-Regulatory Systems and Plans

Still another person variable--one that may be especially relevant to the desegregation researcher--consists of the individual's self-regulatory systems and plans. This person variable may be related closely to successful achievement. It includes a number of components, all relevant to how complex, relatively long-term patterns of goal-directed behavior are generated and maintained even when the environment offers weak supports, barriers, and conflicts. To a considerable degree individuals regulate their own behavior and affect the quality of their performance by self-imposed goals and standards, by self-produced consequences, and by plans and self-statements. Even in the absence of external constraints, people set performance goals for themselves, criticize or praise their own behavior (depending on how well it matches their expectations and standards), and encourage or demoralize their own efforts through their own ideation. Let us consider some of the main components in this process that may be assessed independently even if they are parts of an integral self-regulatory system.

Self-imposed Goals and Standards

Studies of goal-setting and self-reinforcement (e.g., Bandura and Perloff, 1967; Bandura and Whalen, 1966; Mischel and Liebert, 1966) have made it plain for many years that even young children will not indulge themselves with freely available immediate gratifications but, instead, set goals and follow rules to delay gratification. Far from being simply hedonistic, they impose standards and contingencies upon their own behavior. A key feature of self-regulatory systems is the person's adoption of goals and contingency rules that guide behavior. Such rules specify the kinds of behavior appropriate (expected) under particular conditions, the performance levels (standards, goals) which the behavior must achieve, and the consequences (positive and negative) of attaining or failing to reach those standards. Like expectancies and subjective values, self-imposed goals have had a significant place in personality theorizing and research for many years (e.g., Bandura and Walters, 1963; Kanfer, 1971; Mischel, 1966; Rotter, 1954; Rotter et al., 1972). The implications for applied assessment, however, have not been fully realized, and the measures that have been developed in research contexts serve more as readily available prototypes for the future than as well-established, formal instruments in their own right.

Self-statements

After the person has selected standards (terminal goals) for conduct in a particular situation, the often long and difficult route to self-reinforcement and external reinforcement with material rewards is probably mediated extensively by covert symbolic activities, such as praise and self-instructions, as the individual reaches sub-goals. When reinforcers and noxious stimuli are imagined, they appear to influence behavior in the same way as when such stimuli are externally presented (e.g., Cautela, 1971). Imagined events, self-statements, and other covert activities serve to maintain goal-directed work until the performance matches or exceeds the person's terminal standards (e.g., Bandura, 1977). Progress along the route to a goal is also mediated by self-generated distractions and cognitive operations through which the person can transform the aversive "self-control" situation into one which can be mastered effectively (e.g., Mischel, 1974; Mischel et al., 1972; Mischel and Moore, 1980). Achievement of important goals generally leads to positive self-appraisal and self-reinforcement; failure to reach significant self-imposed standards tends to lead the person to indulge in psychological self-lacerations (e.g., self-condemnation).

While the anticipation of success may help to sustain performance, the anticipation of failure may lead to extensive anxiety. Anxiety interferes most with effective performance when it arouses anxious, self-preoccupying thoughts (e.g., "I'm no good at this, I'll never be able to do it") in the stressed person. These thoughts compete and interfere with task-relevant thoughts (e.g., "Now I have to recheck my answers"). The result is that performance (as well as the person) suffers (Sarason, 1979). The interference from self-preoccupying thoughts tends to be greatest when the task is complex and requires many competing responses. One cannot be full of negative thoughts about oneself and simultaneously concentrate effectively on difficult work. Likewise, as the motivation to do well increases (as when success on the task is especially important), the highly anxious person may become particularly handicapped. That happens because under such highly motivating conditions test-anxious people tend to catastrophize and become even more negatively self-preoccupied, dwelling on how poorly they are doing. In contrast, the less anxious pay attention to the task and concentrate on how to master if effectively. Obviously, high self-efficacy expectations are the foundations for successful performance, while intrusive self-doubts can guarantee failure.

When people believe that there is nothing they can do to control negative or painful outcomes they may come to expect that they are helpless (Seligman, 1975). That is, they may learn to expect that aversive outcomes are uncontrollable, that there is nothing they can do. In that state, they also may become apathetic, despondent, and slow to learn that they actually can control the outcomes. Such states of helplessness may generalize, persist, and involve feelings of depression or sadness. The state of helplessness may have especially negative and persistent effects when the person believes that it reflects his or her own enduring, widespread internal qualities (e.g., "I'm incompetent") rather than that it is due to more momentary, external, or situational considerations (Abramson et al., 1978). Thus people's attributions have an important part in determining how a state of helplessness affects them, and the measurement of such attributions is an important ingredient of cognitive assessment (see Shaw and Dobson, 1981).

Following frustration in the form of failure on a task, some individuals "fall apart" and their performance deteriorates. But other people actually improve. What causes these two different types of responses to the frustration of failure? One important cause may be how the person interprets the reasons for the experience. Children who believed their failure was due to lack of ability (called "helpless children") were found to perform more poorly after they experienced failure than did those who saw their failure as due to lack of effort (called "mastery-oriented" children). Indeed, the "mastery-oriented" children often actually performed better after failure. A most encouraging finding is that training the helpless children (those who attribute their failure to lack of ability) to view outcomes as the result of their own effort results in their improved performance after a failure experience (Dweck, 1975).

When faced with failure, helpless children seem to have self-defeating thoughts that virtually guarantee further failure. This became clear when groups of helpless and mastery-oriented fifth-graders were instructed "to think out loud" while solving problems. When children in the two groups began to experience failure, they soon said very different things to themselves. The helpless children made statements reflecting their lack of ability, such as "I'm getting confused" or "I never did have a good memory" or "This isn't fun anymore" (Diener and Dweck, 1978: 458). In contrast, the mastery-oriented children never talked about their lack of ability. Instead, they seemed to search for a remedy for their failure and gave themselves instructions to try to encourage themselves and improve their performance, such as "I should slow down and try to figure this out" or "The harder it gets the harder I need to try" or "I've almost got it now" or "I love a challenge."

In sum, people continuously judge and evaluate their own behavior, congratulating and condemning themselves for their own attributes and achievements. We assess our own characteristics and actions, we praise or abuse our own achievements, and we self-administer social and material rewards and punishments from the enormous array freely available to us. These self-regulatory processes are not limited to the individual's self-administration of such outcomes as the tokens, "prizes," or verbal approval and disapproval that have been favored in most early studies of self-reinforcement (e.g., Bandura, 1969; Kanfer and Marston, 1963; Kanfer and Phillips, 1970; Mahoney, 1974; Masters and Mokros, 1974; Mischel et al., 1968). An especially pervasive but until recently neglected feature of self-regulation is the person's selective exposure to different types of positive and negative information

(Mischel et al., 1973, 1976), subsequent evaluative "self-encoding" (Mischel, 1973, 1979), and the information and ideation to which the person exposes himself or herself mentally.

Almost limitless "good" and "bad" information about the self is potentially available (for example, in the form of memories), depending on where one looks and how one searches. Individuals usually can find or construct information and thoughts to support their positive or negative attributes, their successes or failures, almost boundlessly. They can focus cognitively, for example, on their past, present, and expected assets or liabilities, and attend either to strengths or to weaknesses by ideating about selective aspects of their perceived personalities and behaviors. Affective self-reactions, as in the enhancement of one's own self-esteem and, in common-sense terms, the individual's personal positive and negative feelings, presumably hinge on selective attentional processes through which the individual exposes himself or herself only to particular types of information from the enormous array potentially available. By means of such selective attention the individuals presumably can make themselves feel either good or bad, can privately congratulate or condemn themselves and, in the extreme, can generate emotions from euphoria to depression (e.g., Mischel et al., 1973, 1976; Wright and Mischel, 1982). Other studies have extended this paradigm to demonstrate that success-failure and/or positive-negative affect influence a wide variety of responses (including generosity to self and others, and self-reactions) and also delay behavior in consistent, predictable ways (e.g., Isen et al., 1978; Rosenhan et al., 1974; Schwarz and Pollack, 1977; Seeman and Schwarz, 1974; Underwood et al., 1977). Taken collectively, the data strongly support the conclusion that success and positive affect lead to more benign reactions to the self as well as to others. The manifestations of this positive "glow" are diverse indeed and they even seem to influence memory for information about the self in the same manner (Mischel et al., 1976; Wright and Mischel, 1982).

Given the central role of selective attention, of mastery versus helplessness ideation, and of other self-statements in determining the nature and quality of performance, it becomes most important in the study of achievement to assess systematically the relevant cognitions, attributional styles, and information preference patterns. Recent contributions to such assessment include think-aloud methods (Genst and Turk, 1981), thought-listing (Cacioppo and Petty, 1981), imagery measurement (Anderson, 1981), the assessment of social-evaluative anxiety (Glass and Merluzzi, 1981), and the assessment of depressive schemas (Shaw and Dobson, 1981).

Plans and the Activation of Metacognitions

Although there has been increasing work on the role of self-instructions in self-control apart from specific reinforcement considerations (e.g., Bem, 1967; Luria, 1961; O'Leary, 1968; Meichenbaum, 1977), less attention has been given to the planning and organization of complex behavioral sequences essential for sustained self-regulation in the achievement context. In recent years, exciting developments have been occurring in the study of heuristics for such cognitive activities as reading and story comprehension (e.g., Brown, 1978). At the same time, more is becoming known about the role of plans in self-control (Meichenbaum, 1977), for example, in resistance to temptation (Mischel and Patterson, 1978) and in delay of gratification (Mischel, 1979, 1981c). We have been finding that even young children develop a remarkable degree of knowledge and understanding about a wide range of psychological principles including those basic for effective self-control. For example, children's spontaneous delay of gratification strategies show a clear developmental progression in knowledge of effective delay rules (Mischel and Mischel, 1983; Yates and Mischel, 1979). Even the young child has considerable knowledge about the conditions that allow effective self-control. Helping the child to access that knowledge and to put it to good use in the service of his or her own potential achievements is a major challenge for research and for effective educational planning. Such knowledge may also be fruitfully harnessed by the desegregation researcher.

In the present view, our "subjects" are much smarter than many of us thought they were, even when they are children. Hence, if we don't stop them by asking the wrong questions, and if we provide appropriate structure, they often can tell us much about themselves and, indeed, about psychology itself. In some recent pilot work, for example, Harriet Nerlove Mischel and I have started to ask young children what they know about psychological principles--about how plans can be made and followed most effectively, how long-term problems can be organized, how delay of gratification can be mastered. We also asked them to tell us about what helps them to learn and (stimulated by Flavell and his colleagues; e.g., Kreutzer et al., 1975) to remember. We are most impressed by how much even an eight-year-old knows about mental functioning. Indeed, one wonders how well such young children might perform on a final exam in introductory psychology if the jargon and big words were stripped away. (I do not want to imply, incidentally, that psychology knows little. Rather, I believe, people are good psychologists and know a lot. We professionals might be wise to enlist that knowledge in our enterprise.)

The moral, for me, is that it would be wise to allow our "subjects" to slip out of their roles as passive "assessees" or "testees" and to enroll them, at least sometimes, as active colleagues who are the best experts on themselves and are eminently qualified to participate in the development of descriptions and predictions--not to mention decisions--about themselves. Of course if we want individuals to tell us about themselves directly, we have to ask questions that they can answer. If we ask people to predict how they will react to a desegregated "situation" but do not inform them of the specific situation and the specific criterion measure that will constitute the assessment, we cannot expect them to be accurate. Similarly, it might be possible to use self-reports and self-predictions more extensively in decision making--for example, to help the person to "self-select" from a number of behavioral alternatives (e.g., different types of classroom structure, different assignments). Such applications would require conditions in which accurate self-reports and honest choices could not be used against the people who offer them. We might, for example, expect job candidates to predict correctly which job they will perform best, but only when all the alternatives available to them in their choice are structured as equally desirable. We cannot expect people to deny themselves options without appropriate alternatives. We cannot expect them "to get in trouble" by going against the implicit demands of the situation.

THE ANALYSIS OF ENVIRONMENTS

For many purposes it is useful to focus on the social and psychological environments in which people live and function. The student of desegregation needs to pay as much attention to the specific psychological situations in which desegregation is expected as to the psychological qualities of the participants. Until recently this focus was neglected. The dramatic rise of interest in the environment as it relates to the person is documented easily. From 1968 to 1972 more books appeared on the topic of person-environment relations from an ecological perspective than had been published in the prior three decades (Jordan, 1972). As is true in most new fields, a first concern in the study of environments is to try to classify them into a taxonomy. Environments, like all other events, of course, can be classified in many ways, depending mainly on the purposes and imagination of the classifiers. One typical effort to describe some of the almost infinite dimensions of environments, proposed by Moos (1973, 1974), calls attention to the complex nature of environments and to the many variables that can characterize them. Those variables include the weather, the buildings and settings, the perceived social climates, and the reinforcements obtained for behaviors in that situation--to list just a few.

The classification alerts us to a fact that has been slighted by traditional trait-oriented approaches to personality: Much human behavor depends delicately on environmental considerations, such as the setting (e.g., Barker, 1968), and even on such specific physical and psychosocial variables as how hot and crowded the setting is, or how the room and furniture are arranged, or how the people in the setting are organized (e.g., Krasner and Ullmann, 1973; Moos and Insel, 1974). Many links between characteristics of the environment and behavior have been demonstrated. For example, measures of population density (such as the number of people in each room) may be related to certain forms of aggression, even when social class and ethnicity are controlled (Galle et al., 1972). Likewise, interpersonal attraction and mood are negatively affected by extremely hot, crowded conditions (Griffitt and Veitch, 1971).

Depending on one's purpose, many different classifications are possible and useful (e.g., Magnusson and Ekehammar, 1973; Moos, 1973, 1974). To seek any single "basic" taxonomy of situations may be as futile as searching for a final or ultimate taxonomy of traits. We can label situations in at least as many different ways as we can label people. It will be important to avoid emerging simply with a trait psychology of situations, in which events and settings, rather than people, are merely given different labels. The task of naming situations cannot substitute for the job of analyzing how conditions and environments interact with the people in them.

Although person-condition interactions are never static, sometimes environmental variables can be identified which allow useful predictions. In the present chapter we examined ways to study persons that are compatible with the simultaneous analysis of environments in exactly the same terms. For example, to predict intellectual achievement, it also helps to take account of the degree to which the child's environment supports (models and reinforces) intellectual development (Wolf, 1966). And when powerful treatments are developed--such as modeling and desensitization therapies for phobias--predictions about outcomes are best when based on knowledge of the treatment to which the individual is assigned (e.g., Bandura et al., 1969).

In the present view, the attributes of environments are as important to understand as the attributes of the people in them.[1] A comprehensive psychological approach requires that we move from physical descriptions of the environment--of the climate, buildings, social settings, etc., in which people live--to the psychological processes through which environmental conditions and people influence each other reciprocally. For this purpose, it is necessary to study in depth how the environment influences behavior and how behavior and the people who generate it in turn shape the environment in an endless interaction. To assess properly the interaction of person and environment we must consider both person variables and environmental variables. This goal may be pursued more effectively if we can use the same concepts and language to assess both persons and environments. It seems plausible to try to analyze settings in terms of the competencies, encodings, expectancies, values, and plans they require for effective coping. If so, it may allow us to map the psychological demands of the environment on to the qualities of the person with the same concepts and in the common language of the same underlying psychological processes.

FOOTNOTE

1. The perspective presented here of course recognizes the subtle differences that exist among individuals and groups in their response to any situation, but it tries to go beyond that obvious recognition and beyond lip service to the complexity of the interactions between people and their environments. It emphasizes instead the magnitude of the variability that typically exists on virtually any social dimension, within individuals and within any given social group, and attempts to explore the implications. It recognizes within-person and within-group variability as genuine phenomena, rather than as measurement errors to be averaged out in pursuit of the "central tendency" (see Mischel and Peake, 1982). Such within-person and within-group variability, in turn, needs to be taken into account seriously in the assessment of individuals and groups and in the design of programs intended to influence them.

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PART IV

A RECONSIDERATION OF METHODS

SELF-ESTEEM RESEARCH:
A PHENOMENOLOGICAL CORRECTIVE

Morris Rosenberg

Ever since Thurstone (1928) resoundingly affirmed that "Attitudes Can be Measured," social scientists, as well as government, market, industrial, educational, and other experts, have busily been pursuing this elusive, though undeniably important, phenomenon (Hill, 1981; Schuman and Johnson, 1976; Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975). By now, attitudes toward nearly everything under the sun have been studied. This paper is concerned with a very special attitude, one of extreme importance to every human being, namely, the attitude toward the self. One of the unusual features of this attitude is that the individual holding the attitude and the individual toward whom the attitude is held are the same. In many essential respects, however, attitudes toward the self are like attitudes toward any other object (Rosenberg, 1965; Kaplan, 1975). Like any attitude, the self-attitude can appropriately be studied in terms of certain universal attitude dimensions, such as content, direction, intensity, importance, salience, consistency, stability, and clarity (Krech and Crutchfield, 1948; Newcomb, 1950). In other words, if we can learn what one sees when looking at oneself (content), whether this evaluation is favorable or unfavorable (direction), how strong the feeling is (intensity), how important the self is, relative to other objects (importance), whether the self is constantly in the forefront of attention (salience), whether the self-concept elements are consistent or contradictory (consistency), whether the self-attitude is shifting or firm (stability), and whether it is clear or blurred (clarity), we would have made substantial progress in understanding a person's self-concept. Furthermore, all the research techniques that have been developed for collecting and analyzing information about opinions and attitudes--the sample survey, attitude scaling, multivariate analysis, longitudinal (panel) analysis--are entirely appropriate for the study of the self-concept. Although attitudes toward the self differ from attitudes toward other objects in certain important ways (Rosenberg, 1965), nevertheless self-concept research essentially remains attitude research.

This paper focuses on the direction and intensity dimensions, otherwise known as self-esteem. The question of whether prejudice and discrimination have damaged the self-esteem of blacks has engaged theorists and researchers for over a generation (e.g., Clark and Clark, 1952; Lewin, 1948), and has served as the subject of literally hundreds of publications (for literature reviews, see Wylie, 1979; Cross, 1978, 1980; Porter and Washington, 1979; Baldwin, 1979;

I have benefited from the thoughtful reviews of an earlier draft of this paper by Harold Fairchild, Jeffrey Prager, and Janet Schofield. They are, of course, not responsible for its flaws.

Gordon, 1977). One of the most tantalizing features of this literature has been the fact that persuasive theory has supported one conclusion, whereas compelling methodology has supported the other. Prior to the sixties, virtually all of the research on the subject was based on studies of dolls, pictures, or puppets (Gordon, 1977). In this body of research--of which the Clark and Clark study was the prototype and chief exemplar--young black children were usually presented with black and white dolls, pictures, or puppets and were asked such questions as which is the nice doll, which is the pretty doll, which doll would you like to play with, which doll looks like you, etc. Many black children, it turned out, showed a preference for the white doll or said the white doll looked like them, a finding widely interpreted as reflecting low self-esteem among black children. These findings were consequential for the fate of desegregation, for they were entered as evidence in the plaintiff's brief in Brown and were used as support for the Supreme Court's conclusion that segregated education was damaging to the black child's self-esteem.

To most writers at the time, the reasons for expecting blacks to have lower self-esteem appeared evident. In the literature of the fifties and sixties--some of which sounds rather anachronistic today--a number of reasons were advanced to account for the lower self-esteem of blacks.

The most obvious was the reality of race prejudice. From the earliest studies of Bogardus (1925) in the twenties, and continuing for decades (Bogardus, 1959), the data consistently showed blacks holding a low position in the ethnic status hierarchy. It appeared evident that if members of a group were derogated and disdained by the society as a whole, they would come to internalize the societal definition of their worth. The result would be both hatred of one's group and of one's self as a group member (Lewin, 1948).

Second, disprivilege feeds on itself, such that the primary disease of race prejudice comes to have secondary consequences which, independently of prejudice, damage self-esteem. Three of the consequences given the closest attention were poverty, family rupture, and poor academic performance. Although these are consequences of discrimination, they may have independent noxious consequences for self-esteem. There are good reasons to think that the economically unsuccessful would have lower self-esteem than the successful (Kohn, 1969; Rosenberg and Pearlin, 1978; Lipset and Zetterberg, 1956), that children from separated or never-married families would have lower self-esteem than those from intact families (Rosenberg and Simmons, 1972; Rainwater, 1966), and that children who perform poorly in school would have lower self-esteem than those who perform well (Purkey, 1970; Wylie, 1979; Brookover et al., 1964). Compared to whites, black children suffered in all three respects.

A third postulated threat to self-esteem lay in the derogatory stereotypes attached to low status groups (Katz and Braly, 1933; Laurence, 1970). If one sees oneself through the eyes of the prejudiced majority or if, as a member of society, one internalizes the general attitudes toward one's group (the generalized other; see Mead, 1934), it is plausible to expect one's self-esteem to be damaged.

Finally, some writers rooted black self-hatred in an aversion to dark skin color. Sociological research, for example, had revealed a preference for lighter skin color among blacks (Seeman, 1946), as expressed in a higher sociometric status for lighter blacks, the use of lighter-skinned models as standards of beauty in black publications, the widespread use of cosmetic devices to approximate the white model, and so on (Katz, 1976). Some psychoanalysts (Kardiner and Ovesey, 1951; Grier and Cobbs, 1968) tended to endow these findings with a deeper symbolic significance involving a learned association of black with evil and white with good.

Hence, in the literature of the forties and fifties, the assumption that blacks suffered damaged self-esteem was generally taken for granted. In the sixties, however, social scientists began to study self-esteem by means of the sample survey. In contrast to findings from the doll studies, the survey findings indicated that black self-esteem was at least as high as white (Wylie, 1979; Gordon, 1977; McDonald and Gynther, 1965; Cross, 1980; Schwartz and Stryker, 1971; Taylor and Walsh, 1979).

The findings from attitude surveys, being counterintuitive, caught researchers flat-footed. Nevertheless, such findings could not be dismissed because, in terms of scientific adequacy, the sample survey had several advantages over the doll studies. First, whereas the doll studies characteristically used samples of convenience, the attitude studies were more likely to use probability samples. Such probability samples enabled investigators to generalize to specified populations with precise confidence levels and intervals. Second, whereas the doll studies averred that black children had damaged self-esteem, they implied either that white children did not or that, if they did, the damage was less severe. The appropriate question was not whether black children's self-concepts were damaged--after all, whose aren't?--but whether they were more severely damaged than whites'. Third, as William Cross (1978, 1980) observed, the doll studies had failed to distinguish between personal identity on the one hand, and reference group orientation on the other. The implicit assumption of the doll research was that a black child who rejected his or her race was essentially rejecting the self; low racial self-esteem, it was taken for granted, inevitably produced low personal self-esteem. The sample survey, on the other hand, tended to examine personal self-esteem directly, making use of measures whose reliability and validity could be systematically assessed (Wylie, 1974; Wells and Marwell, 1976; Shavelson and Stuart, 1981). Finally, the sample survey permitted investigators to study a broader age range. Whereas the doll studies were necessarily limited to young children--mostly between 3-7 years of age--the sample survey could be used with much older populations (e.g., Rosenberg, 1965; Crain and Weisman, 1972).

In sum, whereas the general conclusion of the doll studies was that blacks had lower self-esteem, the conclusion from the attitude surveys was that they did not (Gordon, 1977; Taylor, 1976; Cross, 1980; Bachman, 1970). Since major policy decisions had apparently hinged in part on the facts of the case, these methodological issues were of more than academic interest.[1]

The aim of this paper is to attempt to make sense of these findings and, in the process, to suggest how attitude research should be modified to advance the art of inquiry in desegregation research. To do so, it is necessary to adopt a phenomenological perspective. The central argument of this paper is that theorists reached erroneous conclusions because the issue had been conceptualized in terms of objective social science rather than in terms of the phenomenal field--the subjective world--of the black child. To advance this argument, it is first necessary to consider the nature of the phenomenological approach.

THE PHENOMENOLOGICAL APPROACH

The phenomenological approach is concerned with the examination of the subjective worlds or perspectives of human actors (Snygg and Combs, 1949; MacLeod, 1959; Psathas, 1973). The importance of this approach has long been recognized in sociology. Max Weber (1947) recommends verstehen as a fundamental research operation, Berger and Luckmann (1966) speak of the "social construction of reality," Schutz (1970) directs attention to "multiple realities," "meaning contexts," and "interpretive schemes" of the actor, Thomas and Thomas (1928) emphasize the "definition of the situation," etc. All share a common concern--a concern with the phenomenal field, or psychological world, of the subject.

The phenomenological approach involves a shift from an external to an internal frame of reference. The task is to discover underlying meanings, to fathom the individual's subjective world. As expressed by Snygg and Combs (1949: 11), "This approach seeks to understand the behavior of the individual from his own point of view. It attempts to observe people, not as they seem to outsiders, but as they seem to themselves. People do not behave solely because of the external forces to which they are exposed. People behave in consequence of how things seem to them."

What is encompassed by the phenomenal field? According to Snygg and Combs (1949: 15), "By the phenomenal field we mean the entire universe, including himself, as it is experienced by the individual at the instant of action... Unlike the objective physical field, the phenomenal field is not an abstraction or an artificial construction. It is simply the universe of naive experience in which each individual lives, the everyday situation of self and surroundings which each person takes to be reality." (For good reviews of psychological phenomology, see Kuenzli, 1959, and Misiak and Sexton, 1973.)

VERSTEHEN: THE HERITAGE OF MAX WEBER

It might appear that phenomenology, however important it might be to psychology, is largely irrelevant to the sociological enterprise. When Durkheim, in his Rules of the Sociological Method (1964), argued that sociologists should treat facts as "things," he meant that sociological phenomena should be understood at their own level and not be reduced to psychological phenomena. But this did not mean that sociologists must be indifferent to the phenomenal worlds of their subjects. Durkheim, fortunately, did not practice what he preached, providing some of the most brilliant and insightful psychological analyses of response in our literature (e.g., Durkheim, 1933, 1951). Many sociologists, unfortunately, have paid too much attention to what Durkheim said and too little to what he did.

The rationale for the need for psychological phenomenology in social science was set forth most effectively by Max Weber. The central task of social science, according to Weber, was the discovery of intended meaning or "meaning-adequacy." He observed (1947: 100), "Statistical uniformities constitute...sociological generalizations only when they can be regarded as manifestations of the understandable subjective meaning of a course of action." It was Weber's view that one of the most distinctive features of social science--one that set it apart most radically from physical science--was precisely the concern with subjective meaning. The physical scientist has no need to fathom the intent of atoms when they bond to form a molecule. Their motives, definitions of the situation, purposes, and perceptions are irrelevant. Electrons do not repel one another because of learned racial animosity; oxygen and hydrogen do not bond because of flaming sexual passion. On the other hand, Napoleon's march on Moscow cannot be understood adequately by observing overt actions; such behavior requires a grasp of subjective meanings. It is thus not so much formal methodological approaches or scientific considerations that separate the social from the physical or natural sciences as the question of subjective meaning.

If the task of social science, then, is the discovery of intended meaning, then the social scientist must seek to comprehend the respondent's viewpoint or psychological world. Although it is not possible to specify all that falls into the respondent's phenomenal field, we believe that it would certainly include his frame of reference, his taken-for-granted world, his scope of experience, his effective interpersonal environment, his system of motivation, his values, or, most generally, his "schemas" (Fiske and Linville, 1980; Markus, 1977).

Today social scientists rightly focus attention on causal analysis (e.g., Heise, 1975). But Weber stressed strongly that the study of causes is separate from the study of meaning. He observed (1947: 100), "It is by no means the case that the actual likelihood of the occurrence of a given course of overt action is always directly proportional to the clarity of the subjective interpretation." The study of causes can be conducted independently of subjective meaning. For example, Durkheim (1951) shows that economic changes, for either the better or the worse, are predictive of increased suicide rates. But people do not necessarily know that economic instability is the cause of their disaffection. What enters their experience is the condition of anomie--the loss of a stable, secure set of self-expectations and aspirations, a permanent and unquenchable desire for the unachievable, etc. These generate the bitter frustration that ends in suicide. Similarly, the cause of segregation is radically different from the experience of segregation.

Perhaps nowhere in social science has the focus on subjective meanings so brilliantly illuminated the causes of objective action as in Weber's The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (1958). Here he spelled out the psychological meaning of a religious doctrine that was causally critical to capitalist development. What Weber failed to tell us, unfortunately, is how we could be as clever as he. Weber (1947) did grapple with the problem, however, and offered certain useful suggestions. In addition to obvious comments about empathy, he suggested that, in seeking to predict and understand the subjective worlds of actors, we should begin with rational, logical explanations. Weber did not mean that human beings behaved rationally; the contradictory evidence was overwhelming. Rather the rational explanation was considered an "ideal type" which better enabled us to understand the reality that deviated from it. For example, the reason for specifying the nature of ideal-type bureaucratic organizations was not to describe actual bureaucracies but to understand how, and in what respects, empirical bureaucracies matched or deviated from this model. Similarly, the purpose of ideal-type rational explanations of actions was to provide a framework for better understanding the subjective meaning of action.

In attempting to master subjective meanings, one question to be considered is: whose meaning? Weber recognized several different actors. One is the subjective world of the individual. Such analysis is apt to be of special interest to the historian. Why did Hannibal decide to cross the Alps? Why did Hitler declare war on the United States? But Weber also argues that one can study average meanings. Although meanings reside in individuals, not groups, perspectives may be sufficiently shared so as to permit one to ascribe subjective meanings to collectives. Not every Calvinist could have undergone the identical psychological experiences described by Weber, but there was a sufficient commonality to speak of an average or ideal-type meaning.

Weber, we believe, pointed us in a correct general direction, but it is one that we have been hesitant to follow. If we are to understand the psychological impact of social structure or social context, we must understand how it structures and governs the individual's experience. We must see the world not as abstract social scientists, perceiving phenomena from our detached Olympian vantage points, but as it is perceived and experienced by participants in the situation. What may suffice for the statistician or economist does not necessarily suffice for the sociologist. The sociologist must also be an anthropologist and a psychologist. He or she must understand the subcultural context of experience and the processing of environmental data through phenomenal fields.

None of this involves, as certain sociological phenomenologists and ethnomethodologists imply (Psathas, 1973; Berger and Luckmann, 1966; Blumer, 1969) an indifference to careful systematic research. The dominant thrusts of current work--to account for variance, to establish causal models, to purify measurement through the discovery of latent variables shorn of measurement error--are admirable developments. What is currently needed, however, is additional attention to the problem posed by Weber, namely, the problem of meaning.

In attempting to counterpose a Weberian rational model with the world as seen through the eyes of the subject, it may appear that we have intentionally set up a "straw sociologist" for the explicit purpose of knocking it down. That is not our purpose; we do not assume that sociologists are so naive. Our purpose is Weber's: to begin with a plausible, rational, sensible interpretation of the facts--an ideal type of explanation--thereby to highlight its difference from the world as perceived and experienced by the actor.

THE SOCIAL SCIENTIST AND THE INVOLVED ACTOR: CONTRASTING PERSPECTIVES

If an explanation is to be considered rational, in Weber's sense, it must rest on sound theoretical principles. At least three principles governing self-esteem formation would support the expectation that blacks have lower self-esteem than whites: reflected appraisals, social comparison, and self-attribution. We shall first describe these principles and indicate why, from the viewpoint of the social scientist, they would suggest that black children have lower self-esteem than white children. We shall then consider these principles from the viewpoint of the child and observe how they suggest a very different conclusion.

SOCIAL SCIENCE PRINCIPLES

Reflected Appraisals

The self-concept is essentially a social product, arising out of the interactive process (Mead, 1934; Blumer, 1969). The human being is not born with a self-concept (Lewis and Brooks-Gunn, 1979). Only in the course of maturation within a societal framework does a self-concept emerge. One essential feature of self-concept development is the process of seeing the self through the eyes of, and from the perspective of, others. Although Cooley's (1912) "looking glass" self was not intended to suggest that the individual sees himself or herself exactly as others see him or her--how could one do so, since others see the individual differently?--it did highlight the fact that others' attitudes toward the person importantly influence the person's self-attitudes.

What other people think of us is, overall, probably the most important determinant of what we think of ourselves.

But if a group is subjected to massive social devaluation (Bogardus, 1925, 1959; Katz and Braly, 1933)--the fate of blacks in America throughout history--then these negative reflected appraisals would be expected to damage their self-esteem. As Pettigrew (1964: 9) expressed it, "For years, Negro Americans have had little else by which to judge themselves than the second class status assigned them in America. And along with this inferior treatment, their ears have been filled with the din of white racists egotistically insisting that Caucasians are innately superior to Negroes. Consequently, many Negroes, consciously or unconsciously, accept in part these assertions of their inferiority."

The principle of reflected appraisals thus suggests that a group massively derogated in the society will tend to derogate itself. And if one expression of this prejudice is school segregation, then segregation will exacerbate the self-esteem damage. Wertham (1952) vividly described the feelings of inferiority experienced by black children bussed past white schools to their own segregated and less adequate facilities.

Social Comparison

One of the most important bases for judging oneself is to compare oneself with others (Pettigrew, 1967). Other people are the individual's fundamental frame of reference for self-evaluation. How can one judge whether one is tall or short, heavy or light, smart or dull, strong or weak, without comparing oneself to others?

The social comparison perspective would also lead us to expect damaged self-esteem among blacks. Because of prejudice and discrimination, blacks have been less successful than whites in achieving the valued goals of society. Blacks, according to Pettigrew, accept the American emphasis on status and 'success'. But when they employ these standards for judging their own worth, their lowly positions and their relative lack of success lead to further self-disparagement. Overall, black adults still lag behind whites in terms of employment, income, and social class (Hill, 1979; Hefner, 1979). It is plausible to conclude that negative social comparisons in this central value realm will damage self-esteem.

The child's social comparisons are no more favorable. Insofar as the child is accorded the socio-economic status of the adult, the poor or lower-class black child will suffer by comparison with the higher-status white. Still other unfortunate but no less consequential comparisons are likely to afflict black children. The most important is school performance. Although the explanations vary, the consistently poorer performance of black children on standardized achievement tests is amply documented (Clark, 1965; U.S. Commission on Civil

Rights, 1967; Coleman et al., 1966). Coleman's estimate of a difference of about one standard deviation between the races is typical of most such results. In light of the importance of school performance for academic self-concept (Brookover et al., 1964) and, to a lesser extent, for global self-esteem (Purkey, 1970), the unfortunate social comparison consequences appear self-evident.

Black children are also more likely to be raised in single-parent households (Farley and Hermalin, 1971; Rainwater, 1966). Although American family norms are currently undergoing rather fundamental change, traditionally the intact nuclear family of father, mother, and children has been most generally approved in the society. In this regard, negative social comparisons would again be expected to damage black self-esteem.

In sum, with regard to socio-economic status, academic performance, and traditional family structure, social comparisons for blacks are unfavorable. It is plausible to expect such social comparisons to damage self-esteem.

Self-attribution

Interest in how naive observers characteristically attribute motives, intentions, causes, dispositions, etc. to others on the basis of observation has grown rapidly in recent years, stimulating a large body of research and theory (Kelley, 1967; Jones and Nisbett, 1972). Although emerging from a different theoretical tradition, Bem (1967) nevertheless suggested that essentially the same process was reflected in self-perception. Rather than drawing conclusions about their states or dispositions by reference to inner processes, Bem suggested that people draw conclusions about their own internal states by observing their own behavior and the associated circumstances under which it occurs. One might not subscribe fully to Bem's radical behaviorism, but it is undoubtedly true that people do draw conclusions about dispositional phenomena, including their own value and worth, by observing their own behavior and its outcomes. The child's self-judgment is influenced by seeing his test and report-card marks, the adult's by noting his occupational success or failure, etc.

Insofar as the education, occupation, and income levels of black adults are lower than those of whites, and insofar as black children's school performance lags behind white, both social comparison theory and self-attribution theory support the prediction of damaged self-esteem among blacks.

THE CHILD'S-EYE VIEW

From the viewpoint of the social scientist, the principles of reflected appraisals, social comparison, and self-attribution provide sound theoretical support for the expectation that black children, on the average, have lower self-esteem than white children. But now let us consider these three principles from the viewpoint of the child.

Reflected Appraisals

As noted, the principle of reflected appraisals holds that if others look down on the individual or derogate him or her, then he or she will in the course of time come to internalize these negative views. It is a sorry but familiar truth that negative attitudes toward blacks in American society have traditionally been strong, and social scientists have plausibly assumed that black children would suffer from such negative reflected appraisals. Although it is certainly true that the attitudes of others toward the individual will affect his or her self-esteem, the question is: which others? Is it the society as a whole that primarily affects the child's feelings of worth, or is it the people who directly enter his or her experience and who count most in his or her scale of values?

The empirical evidence is plain in showing that the more significant a person is in the eyes of the child, the more impact will that person's attitude (as inferred by the child) have on the child's self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1973). In othere words, some others are more significant than other others. The relevance of this point is that the relationship between what the child believes the other person thinks of him or her and the child's own self-esteem depends on how much the child cares about and trusts the other's judgment. If the child cares about and trusts the other's opinion strongly, then the relationship is consistently more powerful than if the child does not (Rosenberg, 1973). Nor is it in the least surprising to find that this relationship is every bit as strong among black children as among white (Rosenberg and Simmons, 1972). Our self-esteem is thus not affected simply by what others think of us but by who these others are.

Who, then, are the black child's significant others (Sullivan, 1947), the people who so importantly shape the child's self-concept? This answer is: mostly or exclusively other blacks. Consider those people who enter the child's role-set (Merton, 1968): his or her mother, father, brothers and sisters, other relatives, friends, classmates and teachers. With the possible exception of teachers and, in desegregated settings, of classmates, the child's significant others are of his or her own race. Whatever they might think of the child on other grounds, one would hardly expect them to be prejudiced against the child because he or she is black.

Furthermore, the data show, not surprisingly, that actual reflected appraisals received from significant others by black children are at least as favorable as those received by white children. Asked what their mothers, fathers, teachers, and friends think of them, black children are just as likely as white to perceive these attitudes as favorable (Rosenberg and Simmons, 1972).

The level of prejudice in the society as a whole, then, is very different from the level of prejudice in the child's effective interpersonal environment. Younger black children, particularly those in segregated environments, are remarkably unaware of the level of prejudice that exists in the society as a whole. (This awareness increases as they grow older or enter desegregated settings; see Rosenberg, 1979b.) To the extent that full awareness is lacking, to that extent are the damaging self-esteem consequences minimized. Prejudice as it exists in the broader society is very different from prejudice as it is directly and immediately experienced by the actor.

Social Comparison

Let us turn now to the social comparison principle, which has also been interpreted as damaging to the black child's self-esteem. As noted earlier, black children compare unfavorably with white in socio-economic status, their academic achievement levels are markedly below those of whites, and they are less likely to match the American family ideal. Following Weber's rational ideal-type, the social scientist may plausibly conclude that these unfavorable comparisons will damage self-esteem.

Although there is no doubt that people draw conclusions about their worth by comparing themselves to others, the question again is: which others? Do the slum children of Baltimore compare their socio-economic status with the school pupils of Scarsdale or the Gold Coast? Do they compare their academic achievement with the national averages? Do they compare their family structures with those prevailing in rural Nebraska? The comparisons made by the detached and remote social scientist are often very different from those made by the child.

Consider academic achievement. It is common knowledge that black children's performance on standardized achievement tests is below that of white (e.g., Coleman et al., 1966). Since academic success is important to both black and white children, Weber's rational social scientist would conclude that such unfavorable comparisons would tend to damage the black child's self-esteem, particularly his or her academic self-esteem.

And where such comparisons are in fact made, as in the desegregated environment, these damaging self-concept consequences are clearly evident (Coleman et al., 1966; Rosenberg and Simmons, 1972). In general, however, black children, especially in segregated settings, are primarily comparing themselves with one another. It is this fact that makes it possible for black performance to lag perceptibly behind white at the same time that black children are at least as likely as white to consider themselves "good students in school," or, more generally, to have favorable academic self-concepts (Coleman et al., 1966). From the social comparison perspective, it is no accident, as St. John (1975) has demonstrated, that black children in segregated settings tend to have more positive academic self-concepts than those in desegregated settings.

Essentially the same principle applies to the ruptured family. Both black and white children from such families who attend white schools, where broken families are comparatively rare, have lower self-esteem than their classmates from intact families. But in predominantly black schools, where such family structures are less atypical, the self-esteem of children from broken and intact families does not differ (Rosenberg, 1975). Social comparison in this setting is not unfavorable.

Despite lower socio-economic status, poorer academic performance, and higher rates of family rupture, then, the social comparison principle is still entirely consistent with high self-esteem among black children. Whereas the social scientist, however, compares the socio-economic status, marks, and family structures of black and white children in some broad population, the children compare their status, marks, or family structures with others in their immediate environments. The conclusions drawn by the detached social scientific observer and the involved child about the child's self-esteem are entirely different.

Self-attribution

We turn now to the self-attribution principle, again contrasting the facts as perceived by the detached observer with those perceived by the involved participant. Self-attribution, it will be recalled, suggests that people draw conclusions about themselves by observing the outcomes of their actions. Thus, the person whose efforts at home repairs constantly end in disaster concludes about himself, as he would conclude about anyone else on the basis of the same evidence, that he is mechanically inept. Black adults whose efforts at occupational and economic achievement are unsuccessful would thus be expected to draw corresponding conclusions about their own worth.

But research has made evident that the attribution of causes is complex. Asked to explain why someone acted in a certain way, people may explain the behavior in terms of either internal or external causes (Jones and Nisbett, 1971; Duval and Wicklund, 1972). One explanation for Smith's automobile accident is dispositional--Smith is a careless driver. The other is situational--the other driver was incompetent, the driving conditions were poor, the lanes were too narrow. Explanations based on internal casues have implications for self-esteem that are radically different from those based on external causes.

McCarthy and Yancey (1971) suggest that one reason the lesser occupational and economic achievements of blacks have not damaged their self-esteem is because of what they call the "system-blame interpretation." This explanation is certainly highly plausible. Blacks have in fact been subjected to the most appalling prejudice and discrimination over the years. Lesser achievement was obviously a reflection of economic barriers, not a reflection of lack of inner worth. Thus, a white who was an economic failure might develop low self-esteem, whereas a black with equally low achievement could attribute it to racism. Conversely, the successful black might be more self-congratulatory than the successful white because he had overcome the special disabilities of racism. The self-atribution principle could thus be supportive of black self-esteem despite lesser occupational and economic achievement.

It is unclear whether blacks do in fact use the "system-blame interpretation" (see Taylor and Walsh, 1979), but it is possible that "external locus of control" attitudes have similar psychological consequences. Implicit in the external locus of control orientation is a "system-blame" interpretation, i.e., the attitude that what happens to us in life is not under our control but is a consequence of external forces. The fact that blacks are more likely than whites to score high on external locus of control measures (Gurin et al., 1969; Lao, 1970; Campbell et al., 1976) may mean that they are less likely to interpret life outcomes as reflections of personal worth.

System-blame, it should be stressed, does not necessarily represent a misreading of objective reality. On the contrary, it may be entirely accurate. Take the black child who encounters prejudice. Is this a consequence of her own inadequacy or the other's bigotry? Clearly the latter. If the problem lies "out there" rather than "in here," it is not necessarily damaging to self-esteem. Similarly, the black child who knows that she is poor, that her group has low prestige, that her family is stigmatized, will not necessarily interpret these facts as reflections of her own lesser worth. The reason is that race is an ascribed, not an achieved, status. Jacques and Chason (1977) have shown that achievement does affect self-esteem but that ascription does not. The disprivileges experienced by the black child are not consequences of her own efforts and may therefore do little damage to her self-esteem.

In sum, the perspective of the objective social scientist will frequently differ from the perspective of the naive actor. If we are to understand human behavior, it is essential that we not only have a grasp of the facts but also an understanding of how the facts are internally experienced, processed, and interpreted. When dealing with children, this is not so easily accomplished.

SEGREGATION

Inadequate attention to children's phenomenal fields has also produced unexpected findings in desegregation research. The finding that school segregation is associated with higher rather than lower self-esteem (St. John, 1975) appears incredible. In terms of Western values, segregation is an abomination. It symbolizes rejection, derogation, and an affirmation of a group's inferiority. This fact constituted a foundation for the Supreme Court's Brown ruling in 1954. Then how is it possible that segregation should be associated with higher rather than lower self-esteem? Instead of viewing segregation from the Olympian perspective of the social scientist, let us focus on the experience of segregation and how it impinges on the child and his or her assessment of his or her worth.

First, minority group members are more likely to experience race or ethnic prejudice when they are surrounded by members of the majority group (desegregation) than when surrounded by members of their own group (segregation) (Rosenberg, 1977). Although it is not the only way, probably the most important way in which prejudice will give rise to low self-esteem is through face-to-face contact. To damage his self-esteem, the black child must come face-to-face with white prejudice. One reason that the self-esteem of black children in segregated settings tends to be higher than in desegregated settings is that, in the segregated setting, the black child is comparatively insulated from the broad range of prejudice that exists elsewhere.

For example, in Baltimore our respondents were asked, "Sometimes kids tease each other about things. I'd like you to tell me how often you have been teased, left out of things, or called names by other kids because of these things." A number of questions followed, including: "How often have you been teased because you are colored or Negro?" The data show that those black children in predominantly white schools and neighborhoods were more likely to report such teasing than those in predominantly black contexts (Rosenberg and Simmons, 1972).

The same is true of religious prejudice. In a study conducted at a time when religious prejudice was more intense, Jewish children in predominantly gentile neighborhoods were much more likely than those in Jewish neighborhoods to report that they had been teased, left out of things, or called names because of their religion (Rosenberg, 1962). On the average, then, reflected appraisals will be more favorable in a segregated than in a desegregated environment.

Second, in the segregated setting, children are less aware of the negative attitudes held toward their group; this truth is more clearly apparent in the desegregated setting. The Baltimore study (Rosenberg and Simmons, 1972) showed that the larger the number of white children in the school, the more likely was the black child to believe that "most Americans" ranked blacks low in the racial-ethnic status hierarchy. The desegregated experience, then, is one of enhanced awareness of the broader society's negative attitudes toward one's race.

Third, the desegregated environment may be a dissonant cultural context, the segregated environment a consonant one. Every group develops shared perceptions, norms, and values that constitute essential elements of a culture. Such cultures may vary from thin and superficial, with a few shared norms, values and communication patterns, to an extensive and elaborate culture, with numerous and profound shared components. To the extent that an individual has internalized the elements of his or her own culture, he or she faces the problem of marginality in a dissonant context (Rovner, 1981; Rosenberg, 1962; Ramirez et al., 1971). An interesting illustration is Pitts' (1978) finding that French Canadians who had attended English-speaking schools ended up more occupationally successful than those who had attended French schools but that they had lower self-esteem. From the viewpoint of culture--values, ideals, implicit understandings--the individual may feel more comfortable, at ease with himself, adequate, and accepted in a consonant than in a dissonant context. The degree to which subcultural differences characterize blacks and whites in our urban environments is difficult to specify. Although we do not believe that such differences are great, to the extent that they do exist, a black child in a predominantly white school would be more subject to problems of marginality--of feeling strange, different, out of place, or somehow "wrong"--a circumstance clearly prejudicial to self-esteem.

Fourth, academic performance is the most public, visible, and direct evidence of achievement in the school context. In terms of self-concept implications, such performance will bear primarily on academic self-concept and secondarily on global self-esteem. For a variety of historical and economic reasons, black children's performance is below the average level of whites. Within the segregated environment, of course, children compare themselves with others in their group, with corresponding self-esteem implications. In the desegregated environment, on the other hand, they tend to compare unfavorably with those around them. It is thus not surprising that Coleman et al. (1966) found that black children in desegregated schools showed better performance on standardized tests than those in segregated schools but that their academic self-concepts were lower.

Finally, there are other potentially or actually damaging self-esteem effects in desegregated settings. In segregated settings, the self-esteem of black children from separated or never-married families is just as high as that of children from intact families; but in the desegregated setting, it is substantially lower (Rosenberg, 1977). In addition, in desegregated settings black children are more likely to be poorer than those around them than in the segregated settings (Rosenberg and Simmons, 1972). In several important respects, social comparisons tend to be more unfavorable in desegregated than in segregated settings.

It should be stressed that self-esteem is only one of many outcomes of desegregation. Although desegregation does appear to damage global self-esteem modestly, and academic self-esteem more strongly (St. John, 1975),[2] it is associated with positive consequences as well. For one thing, there is some evidence of improved academic performance by black children in white schools (Coleman et al., 1966; Rosenberg and Simmons, 1972), though the results are not always consistent. In addition, Crain (1970) suggests that the desegregated school may be an "opportunities context." Black adolescents in desegregated schools are apparently more successful than those in segregated schools in finding jobs after high school, a result explained by Crain in terms of a reference-group network. White boys have better contacts for getting jobs and they pass this information on to a number of their black classmates. In the segregated context this information network is lacking. Crain and Weisman's (1972) study of Northern adults also showed that those who had attended desegregated schools ultimately fared better on a number of criteria, such as steady jobs, stable families, home ownership, and staying out of trouble with the law. In fact, one of the few benefits that were not associated with desegregation was improved self-esteem. Writers supportive of desegregation have focused on precisely the wrong effect--enhanced self-esteem--to support their position.

These observations on segregation and desegregation highlight the hiatus between the world as intended and the world as experienced. Segregation, de jure or de facto, is usually a product of malice, of hostility, of ill-will. The experience of segregation, however, is in various ways protective of self-esteem. It is all too easy to draw conclusions about the effects of an institution by considering its purposes and origins instead of seeing it as it actually enters the individual's life experience.

PERSPECTIVAL DISCREPANCIES

That perspectival discrepancies are an inevitable feature of human experience is scarcely a novel idea. When Hamlet, expressing his feeling that Demark is among the worst of prisons, is contradicted by Rosencrantz, who denies such a reaction, Hamlet replies, "Why, then, 'tis none to you; for there is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so: to me it is a prison."

Long ago Karl Mannheim (1949), operating from the vantage point of the sociology of knowledge, alerted us to the dangers of perspectival thinking. He noted that people observing the "same" reality from different perspectives essentially "saw" different things and drew different conclusions from these observations. Mannheim rooted such differences in the individual's location in the social structure or group affiliations. Social classes, cultures, ethnic groups, generations, etc., saw social reality differently because of their social interests, common experiences, shared norms, etc. Given the inevitable bias of all social perception, however, it would appear impossible ever to arrive at social scientific truth. Only the detached scientific political scientist, according to Mannheim, could overcome the biasing effects of his position in society so as to see the social world real and whole.

Whether the social scientist is indeed able to grasp this truth is certainly open to question. But it is clearly the case that the social scientist's perspective is different from the social actor's. There are at least three reasons for the inevitability of perspectival discrepancies.

The first is the differential "interests" of people. We use this term not in Mannheim's sense of political, social, or economic advantage but in the sense of being concerned, involved, or attentive to certain aspects of reality. Korzybski (1933) once described how different people might "see," attend to, or focus on a cow. To the biologist, the cow is a complex anatomical and physiological structure; to the artist, a configuration of form, light, shadow, and color; to the physicist, a complex structure of atoms; to the farmer, an ego-extension; and so on. People thus do not simply "see" things. Rather, they see them in terms that engage their interests. Insofar as these interests differ, their perceptions inevitably differ.

A second reason for perspectival discrepancies is the inevitability of different vantage points. Some recent findings from attribution research aptly illustrate this point. When individuals are asked to explain the causes of their own behavior, they tend to ascribe it to situations or external events. But when outsiders explain that individual's behavior, they are more apt to attribute it to the individual's dispositions (Jones and Nisbett, 1971). Why do the actor and the observer see things differently and hence make different causal attributions? Because, in general, people's attention tends to be directed outward. To the actor the situation is external; but to the observer the actor is external. It should be stressed that both may be correct; their perspectives, however, differ.

Third, perspectival discrepancies are inevitable because observed realities are never perceived as such but are always assimilated to preformulated schemas. A schema, according to Fiske and Linville (1980: 543), "refers to cognitive structures of organized prior knowledge, abstracted from experience with specific instances; schemas guide the processing of new information and the retrieval of stored information." The classic study by Bartlett (1958) on memory is illustrative. Asked to repeat a story they had been told, members of a different culture consistently selected, ordered, rearranged, and transmuted the facts in a fashion consistent with the content of their culture. External facts are thus not perceived as such but are fitted into a preformulated framework.

Perspectival differences between the scientist and the naive actor thus inevitably differ because they begin with different schemata; external reality thus necessarily has a different meaning. An understanding of the "meaning" of objective facts thus requires knowledge of the actor's schema. Such schemata, unfortunately, are complex and diverse. Among the schemata that have been identified are: (1) stereotypes, (2) implicit personality theories, (3) scripts, (4) memory schemata, (5) causal schemata, and (6) self-schemata (Fiske and Linville, 1980).

To say that the perspective of the scientist may differ from the perspective of the subject, however, does not tell us what ways they differ and why they differ in those particular ways. It is this question to which we now turn.

SCIENTIFIC AND NAIVE PERSPECTIVES

The scientist is the product of a lengthy and intensive process of socialization intended to train him to approach and perceive social reality in a characteristic fashion. Such training is essential for the conduct of scientific research, but it is apt to generate a viewpoint that is at variance with that of the naive actor. We shall discuss four features of the scientific approach that may foster perspectival discrepancies.

First, the scientific attitude is one of detachment and objectivity. Second, the social scientific method is comparative; the meaning of facts inevitably entails implicit or explicit comparisons. Third, attitudinal researchers, interested in generalizing to broad populations, employ research techniques that depend on statistical principles. Finally, the social scientist operates on a high level of abstraction and, as an intellectual, is sensitive to the symbolic meanings of reality.

Although the black child in segregated and desegregated settings certainly shares some of these cognitive orientations or schemata, the child is not a social scientist. Hence the child's perspective must inevitably differ from that of the scientist. Our understanding may therefore be enhanced by directing attention to certain of these perspectival discrepancies.

Distal and Proximal Perspectives

Social scientists are trained to bring a broad perspective to bear on the social reality they study. One might liken him or her to an orbiting astronaut who, at a glance, can encompass a grand panoramic view of continents and oceans, a view of staggering breadth. Psychological processes, in contrast, operate at ground level. The same reality looks very different when seen from these different vantage points.

Consider again the black disadvantages described above: greater poverty, lower academic achievement scores, higher rates of family rupture, the reality of prejudice and, by definition, minority group membership. From the distant view of the rational social scientist, the findings appear damaging to self-esteem.

But when one views these matters from the proximal perspective of the black child, especially the young child, matters appear very different. In the school she attends and the neighborhood in which she lives, the black child is rarely a minority group member. On the contrary, almost everyone around her is of the same race. In these contexts, she is not conspicuously poor; she may be better off than some, less well off than others. Her school performance is not markedly below those around her; feelings of academic success or failure follow the usual distribution. The black child from a broken family is also not unusual in this environment (Rosenberg and Simmons, 1972). From the viewpoint of the broader society, then, black children suffer severe disadvantages. But in the worlds in which they live, and which represent the source of their most vivid, immediate, and impactful experiences, these disadvantages are not apt to be at the center of awareness.

The social scientist, examining the data on prejudice in the society as a whole, is apt to conclude that black children are exposed to massive negative reflected appraisals. But in the worlds in which most black children actually live, this broad level of prejudice is unlikely to enter directly. The black child is more apt to be concerned with, and aware of, the attitudes toward him of his mother, father, and other significant others than the attitudes of a remote and anonymous population (Rosenberg and Simmons, 1972).

Within and Between Group Perspectives

Although univariate analyses have a role to play in social science, particularly in descriptive studies, the sociological approach is fundamentally comparative. Survey researchers comparing samples of subjects in terms of such variables as age, education, race, or gender characteristically explore the effects of these variables by observing differences among categories or across different positions on the continuum.

The "effects" of independent variables are thus usually assessed by means of social comparisons. For the sociologist, these independent variables are usually social structural variables. The psychological inferences to be drawn from the data are generally straightforward: we expect blacks to be more likely than whites to consider themselves poor students, women more likely than men to consider themselves underpaid, poorer people less likely than richer to be satisfied with their incomes, and so on.

The point is that sociologists tend to make between-group comparisons whereas individuals tend to make within-group comparisons. Although there are exceptions, in general people tend to compare themselves to similar others (Festinger, 1954; Patchen, 1961; Pettigrew, 1967). Recall the classic level-of-expection study by Chapman and Volkmann (1947). In this study, college students were told the average scores on a certain test achieved by WPA workers, college students, and college professors, and were asked how well they expected to do on the test. It will surprise no one to learn that the college students' estimates hovered about the alleged college student mean. This unsurprising finding is less trivial than it appears. It suggests that people are more apt to make within-group than between-group comparisons.

In their study of young people in the Southern community of Millfield, Baughman and Dahlstrom (1968) observed with some surprise that, although black children could see the many ways in which they were disprivileged compared to whites, they appeared to be unaffected by these gross discrepancies; the comparisons tended to be with one another.

In their study of retired men, Luck and Heiss (1972) explored the relationship between socio-economic achievement and self-esteem. For the sample as a whole, little relationship appeared. However, if one looked at the question within educational groups, different results emerged. For college-educated respondents, occupational prestige was positively associated with self-esteem; among high-school respondents, income level showed a positive relationship to self-esteem. Yet in the sample as a whole, the self-esteem level of the college-educated and high-school respondents was not essentially different. In other words, people's self-esteem appeared to hinge on comparisons with comparable or similar others.

The differing perspectives of social scientist and actor are readily understandable. Fundamentally, the sociologist is interested in groups, and she can only understand group effects by making group comparisons. Even if she studies women, she makes implicit comparisons with men; if she studies blacks, she makes implicit comparisons with whites. The social scientists' professional interest thus centers on between-group comparisons.

The subject's focus, by contrast, is on the self. The self is the reference point, the phenomenal center, of all perceptions. In Lecky's (1945: 152, 156) terms, "The individual sees the world from his own viewpoint, with himself as the center.... The most constant factor in the individual's experience... is himself and his interpretation of his own meaning...." The individual tends to compare himself with those in the groups, statuses, or social categories that constitute his psychological world.

Another difference between the scientist's and actor's perspective relates to the meaning of group differences. The scientist may infer that if an individual who performs well in some respect has higher self-esteem than an individual who performs poorly, then a group that performs well (on the average) in this respect will tend to have higher self-esteem than a group that performs poorly. But an individual rarely bases his self-esteem on how well his group has done in comparison to another group but on how well he personally has done in comparison to relevant others. Take a black pupil who stands in the top 10% of her class. Will she had high self-regard because she does better than most of the people she knows or will she have low self-esteem because the average academic performance of her race is below the average performance of another race? Does the white in the bottom 10% of her class consider herself an excellent student because her race does better than another on standardized tests? Absurd as it seems, this is the implicit reasoning that underpins the conclusions of some writers.

The perspective of the social scientist and the child are thus radically different, the scientist tending to focus on differences between groups, the child tending to compare himself or herself to those in the same general category. Is it any wonder that the scientist should draw erroneous conclusions about the child's self-esteem?

Discrepant Contextual Perspectives

The social scientist, concerned with understanding broad populations, characteristically makes use of the sample survey to accomplish his or her objectives in an economical and accurate manner. The essential feature of this method is that every member of the population has an equal chance of being selected and that the selection is governed by chance. Given proper procedure, it becomes possible to depict with a high degree of accuracy the relationships between individual characteristics within specified populations.

The sample survey, however, treats each member of the sample as an isolated atom, unconnected with other members of the sample. The problem with this approach is that it tends to overlook the fact that lives are lived in defined contexts and that sociodemographic variables may achieve different meanings within different contexts. For example, to ask about the effects of race or socio-economic status or ethnicity is to attempt to understand what it is about the experience of being black or poor or Hispanic that affects attitudes and behavior. Race per se cannot affect attitudes. Only being defined and treated as a black or white in society can produce such an effect. But the nature and definition of such treatment depends in part on the social context in which it is embedded. It may be a very different experience to be a black in a white context than to be a black in a black context, to be rich in a rich context than to be rich in a poor context, to be Hispanic in a Hispanic context or an Anglo context, etc. Consequently, the survey researcher seeking to explore the effects of race, socio-economic status, or ethnicity on self-esteem is apt to obtain an incomplete and probably distorted picture if he or she overlooks the contexts in which these social identity elements are embedded.

Consider the issue of black poverty which, on the basis of social comparison theory, might be expected to damage black self-esteem. Since the black children tend to be poorer, it is plausible to infer that they feel poorer, with all that implies for self-esteem.

But consider the following finding from the Baltimore study. Respondents in this sample were asked whether they knew any children whose families were poorer than theirs and any whose families were richer. Black children were less likely than white to say that they knew poorer children. This is understandable; low in socio-economic status, the children had available only a small pool of potential socio-economic inferiors. But the surprising point is that the black children are also less likely than the white to say that they know richer children, i.e., those socio-economically superior to themselves. It is the white children, who are on the average much richer, who are more likely to say that they experience socio-economic disadvantages (Rosenberg and Simmons, 1972).

To understand this point, let us attempt to enter the psychological world of the child and see how socio-economic comparisons are made. Consider the very poorest black children in the sample, i.e., those in Class V (based on the Hollingshead measure). How do they compare socio-economically with children in their schools? It turns out that nearly half are approximately average for their schools, and most of the remainder are only one step below average. Only one black child in twenty is substantially below average for his or her school, i.e., two levels below. Now consider the equally poor (Class V) white children. All of them are below average for their schools; four-fifths are one step below average, and one-fifth are two steps below average. Comparatively speaking, then, the Class V white child is much worse off than the Class V black child. Similarly, Class IV black children also fare better than Class IV white children. For example, one-fourth of the Class IV black children are socio-economically superior to the school mean whereas this is not true of any of the Class IV whites. When we turn to the high social-class end of the scale, i.e., Classes I and II, black children are again better off. Black children from this level are much more likely than comparable whites to be socio-economically superior to their fellows. Sixty-seven percent of the higher-class black children but only 16 percent of the higher-class whites were two or more Hollingshead steps above the school average. We thus encounter the anomaly that black children, who are much poorer, are able to make more favorable economic comparisons than white children, who objectively are much better off (Rosenberg and Simmons, 1972).

Furthermore, the black children draw the plausible inferences about their families' social status from their experience. The Baltimore data show that, at equivalent class positions, the black children are more likely than the white to say that they are "very proud" of their family's social position and to affirm that their parents have done "very well" in life; and the poorer the children, on the whole, the greater the black-white discrepancy. Although black children are much poorer than white, in the interpersonal worlds in which their day-to-day experiences take place, the socio-economic comparisons are generally favorable.

I do not mean to suggest, of course, that sociologists invariably neglect contexts (see, for example, Campbell and Alexander, 1965; Meyer, 1970; Michael, 1966; Lazarsfeld et al., 1972). That is certainly far from true, but sample survey methodology fails to focus attention on this issue. Many of the best contextual analyses are accidental by-products of multi-staged sampling designs, with a particular "stage"--a school, a census tract, a primary sampling unit--constituting a natural context. But even when social scientists do attend to contexts, perspectival discrepancies may occur because the scientist centers attention on one context whereas the actor is primarily concerned with another. One reason is that contexts are nested; there are contexts within contexts. A classroom exists within a school, a school within a census tract, a census tract within a city (or other political entity), etc. One may thus draw erroneous conclusions by misunderstanding the perceived and experienced context of the actor. Let me illustrate the point with two examples.

Some years ago an attempt was made to assess the consequences of racial desegregation on black school performance. The results showed that black adolescents in desegregated schools showed little advantage over those in segregated schools; desegregation appeared to afford little academic benefit. A more careful analysis by McPartland (1969), however, showed that in these allegedly desegregated schools, most of the black pupils had been assigned to black classes. The desegregation was largely cosmetic; the smaller contexts of experience were actually mostly segregated. McPartland was able to demonstrate, in fact, that in those cases in which black pupils did attend desegregated classes, their academic performance was appreciably better. This finding persisted even in the face of certain statistical controls. Although the study is not foolproof, it demonstrates the importance of identifying correctly the effective interpersonal environment of the individual.

A second illustration appears in a study by Rogers et al. (1978), examining the question of whether, in a sample of underachieving children, achievement scores and self-esteem would be related. These authors studied a school for underachievers consisting of 17 classes with a total of 252 children. If one examined the entire sample, there was virtually no relationship between the child's IQ and his or her self-esteem. But within classrooms, it was found, the higher the IQ, the higher the self-esteem, particularly academic self-esteem. Had the investigators limited their investigation to the study of the relationship between IQ and self-esteem in the school as a whole--a typical research procedure--they might have reached the reasonable but erroneous conclusion that intellectual competence had no bearing on self-worth among underachievers.

The particular relevance of contextual analysis lies in the fact that no person is ever exposed to the totality of a society. He or she is only exposed to that portion that enters his or her experience. Furthermore, those features of that experienced context that will probably have the major impact are the ones most closely attended to by the actor. A context is thus a psychological world, a world as perceived and experienced from one's own point of view. It is important to study not only the objective nature of these contexts (a point frequently overlooked by psychological phenomenologists) but also the subjective interpretation of it. Both are essential in the quest for meaning-adequacy.

Symbolic and Literal Perspectives

That there may be a vast gulf between what exists objectively and what is perceived subjectively is scarcely a novel observation. (A striking illustration of this point appears in the quality of life literature, e.g., Campbell et al., 1976.) But this means that the social scientist and the actor, looking at the same reality, may perceive different things. One example of such perspectival discrepancies is the tendency of one party to endow a fact with symbolic significance whereas the other interprets it literally.

Take the famous doll studies of Kenneth and Marie Clark (1952), conducted in the forties and replicated many times in subsequent decades. As noted earlier, black children were shown a light doll and a dark doll and were asked which doll was the nice doll, the pretty doll, the doll with the nice skin color, the doll that looks like you, etc. In many cases these black children showed a preference for the light doll and even said that they looked like the light doll. Most investigators concluded that these children were rejecting their race and, by extension, themselves. It rarely occurred to anyone to consider whether showing preference for the light-skinned doll simply signified preference for light skin, and whether saying that they looked like the light doll simply meant that they did look like the light doll.

Is there any indication that these children, in showing preference for light or dark dolls, may be responding literally to skin color rather than symbolically to race? The most interesting indication comes from the original Clark and Clark study itself. When asked to "give me the doll who looks like you," only 20 percent of the light (practically white) children, 73 percent of the median (light brown to dark brown) children and 81 percent of the dark (dark brown to black) children identified themselves with the colored doll (Clark and Clark, 1952). Plainly, then, children are responding to a substantial degree in terms of literal skin color, rather than showing racial misidentification and disidentification. Furthermore, the fact that they found the light doll more desirable is entirely consistent with other research at the time (e.g., Seeman, 1946) showing that blacks considered lighter skin color more aesthetic or associated it with more desirable status characteristics. What researchers interpreted as racial preferences were, at least among many children, skin-color preferences. To be sure, when asked which doll is colored or white, their racial identifications tended to be correct. But these questions were presented after, rather than before, the doll preferences. Indeed, as Clark and Clark note, if the doll studies had been initially defined in symbolic terms, their results would have been entirely different. They noted (1952: 552), "It was found necessary to present the preference requests first in the experimental situation because in a preliminary investigation it was clear that the children who had already identified themselves with the colored doll had a marked tendency to indicate a preference for this doll and this was not necessarily a genuine expression of actual preference, but a reflection of ego involvement."

For the next quarter of a century, investigators continued to study the question of so-called "racial preference," using light and dark dolls, pictures, or puppets, and generally emerged with the same results. It was not until 1968 that Greenwald and Oppenheim introduced two startling innovations into this research procedure that left one gasping at their ingenuity. The first was that instead of using two dolls, they used three--dark, medium, and white. The second was that they interviewed white children as well as black. Given these options, it turns out that more white than black children misidentified with their race, i.e., more white children said they looked like the medium doll than black children said they looked like the white doll.

In sum, if a black child with light-color skin says he looks more like a white doll than a dark doll, it may not be that he is disidentifying with his race and expressing racial self-hated. It may simply be that he does look more like the white doll than the dark. Many children are thus responding literally to skin color. In her careful study of children's racial identifications, Alejandro-Wright (1980) found that, for the younger children "the term black...

is interpreted literally as the color black." It was not until the later ages--age 8-10--that the children classified blacks and whites in the social-biological terms employed by adults.

Perhaps nowhere has the orientation of symbolism held greater sway than with reference to racial segregation. That legal segregation of Jews in the European ghettos, blacks in the South, or other "pariah" groups (Weber, 1952) has been explicitly intended to mark the inferiority and unworthiness of the excluded group is beyond dispute. In its purpose and in its practice, segregation was intended to symbolize the social interiority of the discriminated-against group, desegregation to symbolize its equality. For most social scientists, it has been a short and easy step to conclude that children in segregated settings would feel inferior and have low self-esteem, whereas those in integrated settings would feel equal and have a high level of self-respect.

The concrete world of experience, by contrast, is a very different matter. If someone attacks us with a racial epithet or laughs at our peculiar dress or speech mannerisms, if we answer the questions wrong when the teacher calls on us, or if we get the lowest mark on the test--these are things we know and experience, and they affect us in a direct and immediate sense. Yet these are the experiences that are more likely to afflict the black child in a desegregated setting. The concrete experience of segregated living--in contrast to its symbolic meaning--is very different. If a black child attends a black school day after day, week after week, year after year, this becomes her world of experience. It is within this setting that her feelings about self and others evolve. It seems extremely unlikely that the black child, daily seeing black faces around her in school and neighborhood, constantly feels personally inferior because this structural condition symbolizes the social inferiority of her race. Nor, for that matter, if the faces are white, does she constantly feel personal pride and high self-esteem because of this symbol of social equality. The fact that black children in segregated schools appear to have higher self-esteem than those in desegregated schools (St. John, 1975) may surprise those who view social structures as symbolic affirmations of principles rather than as contexts of experience. From the perspective of the child's world, it is readily understandable.

Finally, one must consider the widespread and persistent view that attitudes toward one's race or ethnic group "symbolize" attitudes toward oneself. Cross (1978, 1980) has persuasively argued that reference-group orientation on the one hand, and personal self-esteem on the other, are radically different attitudes and that their association should be investigated, not assumed. (See also Porter and Washington, 1979.) In fact, there is some evidence to indicate that not only are attitudes toward one's group and attitudes toward oneself not identical, but they are scarcely even related (Rosenberg, 1979a). This does not mean that race is not important to the child--it is--but many other features of the self are of equal or greater importance in determining the child's feelings of self-worth.

In sum, our intention in this discussion has been to direct attention to some of the dangers of perspectival discrepancies between the objective scientist and the naive actor that may hamper our understanding of people's phenomenal fields. This discussion does not purport to be exhaustive. On the contrary, the list of dangers is much longer. We simply suggest that if social scientists were more alert to the perils of perspectival discrepancies and more attuned to the phenomenal fields of their subjects, the depth, richness, and meaningfulness of much attitude research would be enhanced.

DISCUSSION

As the philosophical doctrine of phenomenology, initially enunciated by Husserl, has entered psychology and sociology, it has assumed distinctly different shapes and forms. In psychology (e.g., Snygg and Combs, 1949; Kuenzli, 1959), scientists have advocated the use of rigorous methods to assess this internal world validly and to study it systematically. In sociology (e.g., Psathas, 1973; Schutz, 1970; Berger and Luckmann, 1966), the methodology has been primarily speculative and impressionistic. Let me explicitly state that the problem we confront is best solved by the approach of psychological phenomenology. It was this approach that was so influential in introducing self-concept as a topic of research into the field of psychology in the first place (Snygg and Combs, 1949; Raimy, 1948) and that has continued to underpin self-concept research over the past 30 years (Wylie, 1974). To be sure, phenomenology does not represent the dominant thrust of contemporary psychology either, but it is essential for sociologists to use this approach to enrich, deepen, and make more meaningful their systematic quantitative data.

Our emphasis on systematic quantitative research is, we believe, entirely consistent with Weber's position. Scientific data are essential, but an understanding of their meaning is equally so. An adequate sociology obliges us to penetrate the psychological worlds of actors. We must make an effort to understand (in Weber's sense of verstehen) people's attitudes and behavior. The purpose of this effort, it should be stressed, is not to supplant quantitative systematic research, as some sociological phenomenologists would have us do, but to enrich and deepen its meaning.

In urging attention to phenomenal fields, we do not mean to imply that sociologists are currently uninterested in such phenomena. Obviously, they are. What is required, however, is more serious attention to the issue. All too often we find investigators who follow the presentation of their data with rather casual, off-the-top-of-the-head, commonsensical discussions that seem neither enlightening nor persuasive. The impression conveyed is that this feature of the work is not considered particularly interesting or important. We believe this is unfortunate. Social science remains the science of meaning; hence, bare or superficial meaning is inadequate social science.

The chief problem with the search for meaning is not whether it should be done but whether it can be done. That is the challenge that awaits us. How can one penetrate the mind of a human being to extract the relevant information? An obvious first step would be to turn to Max Weber, who succeeded so brilliantly in this effort, for guidance. Unfortunately, Weber, after leading us down the primrose path, ungallantly abandons us. Persuading us of the importance of capturing meaning, he then makes some vague noises about verstehen by means of empathy (1947). At this point we are left on our own. But how is one to achieve empathy? Ralph Turner (1956) once described five different types of empathy, i.e., taking the role of the other. Gordon Allport (1968) described how the early German social psychologists distinguished a multiplicity of meanings of empathy and sympathy. Important though sympathy is, however, there is one common empathetic error that is common in the literature. Empathy is generally interpreted as putting ourselves in the place of the other. The result is that the sociologist frequently ends up drawing conclusions about how he or she would feel in the situation, rather than how the naive actor feels in the situation. The social scientist is apt to feel that if he had to live in ghetto conditions, he would be consumed with rage and resentment; if he had to spend eight hours a day performing repetitive motions on a production line, he would take leave of his sanity; if he had to face the boredom and irritation of housewife activities, he would be irritated and depressed beyond measure. But it is easy to forget that it is not we, but the actor, who undergoes these experiences. Our guess about how we, as currently constituted, would respond is probably quite different from how the actor, as currently constituted, responds. The schemata, perceptions of the situation, values, motives, and other cognitive elements of the scientist and the actor are very different and hence frequently produce different attitudinal and behavioral responses to the same situation. Perspectival discrepancies thus serve as an obstacle to empathy.

Research investigators generally recognize that, during the exploratory phase of the investigation, careful phenomenological study is essential. In a well-conducted study, investigators will conduct open-ended or semi-structured interviews to learn how a range of people think about the issues under consideration, i.e., what frameworks or schemata guide their interpretations of the issues. Such work makes it possible to ask more meaningful questions and to provide more meaningful response options in constructing the structured research instruments. Our suggestion in this paper, however, is that phenomenological research should also be conducted after, rather than simply before, systematic data collection and analysis. We might call such work "second-stage analysis." (For a good example, see Goodwin, 1982.) The aim of such analysis is to enliven, deepen and enrich the meaning of the quantitative results, and is as appropriate for secondary data analysis (Hyman, 1972) as for primary data analysis. Insofar as it succeeds, it enables us to approach more closely Weber's goal of meaning-adequacy.

Such analysis may take different forms. It may entail (1) further internal analysis of available quantitative data, (2) further internal analysis of qualitative data, (3) analysis of actors' social contexts, and (4) new qualitative interviews designed to clarify the meaning of the quantitative results. Space limitations bar us from illustrating these procedures.

There is a final problem that must be faced even if it cannot be solved. This is the problem of interpretive verification. Weber explicitly recognized this problem but failed to provide guidance on how to deal with it. A number of years ago, Abel (1948) explicitly considered "the operation called verstehen" and persuasively argued that the procedure lacked validity. That is certainly still the case today. The strength of the interpretation rests heavily on plausible reasoning and correspondence with highly fallible intuitive convictions. It is evident that the numerous interpretations we have offered in this paper remain largely on the level of plausibility and are readily subject to rival interpretations. The challenge before us is to master the problem of interpretive verification.

One possible consequence of the approach suggested in this paper is to make social scientists more aware of their own biased perspectives. Such an outcome would improve our understanding not only of our research subjects but of ourselves as well. Although looking into ourselves to discover our biases may be bitter medicine, in the long run it will produce a healthier social science.

FOOTNOTES

1. An additional methodological issue relates to the historical period of study. Since the doll studies began in the forties whereas the survey studies began in the sixties, the differing results yielded by the doll and the survey studies may not have rested on differences in research methods but in changed self-attitudes stemming from the black pride movement. Gordon's (1977) review of the literature does not completely resolve this issue but does cast light on it. In what she calls the "early period" (1939-1953), the doll or puppet studies did tend to show a preference for the light-skinned doll. In the middle period (1954-1963), which overlapped the early survey studies, the doll studies continued and showed essentially the same results. In the most recent time frame (1964-1973), most of the doll studies showed the same results as in the earlier period, but several studies did not show a preference for the light-skin doll. These findings suggest that there has probably been some enhancement of racial pride in the more recent period, a view supported by Cross (1980). Because various doll studies in the sixties continued to show a preference for lighter skin at the same time that surveys showed no self-esteem disadvantage among black subjects, the different results cannot be attributed exclusively to historical changes. The fact that, according to Gordon (1977), the results of the doll studies were much the same between the 1939-53 and 1954-63 periods suggests that the shift from de jure to de facto segregation had little meaning for these young children.

For insightful discussions of other methodological flaws in research allegedly demonstrating lower self-esteem among blacks, see Banks (1976), Banks and Rompf (1976), and Stephan and Rosenfield (1979).

2. The mental health consequences of global self-esteem on the one hand, and academic self-concept on the other, are far from identical. The evidence is unequivocal in showing low global self-esteem to be associated with psychological discomfort, dysphoria, or negative affective states (Beck, 1967; Kaplan and Pokorny, 1969; Bachman, 1970; Luck and Heiss, 1972; Sniderman, 1975; and many more). Low academic self-concept, on the other hand, expresses feelings of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1977, 1978) and may or may not be associated with psychological discomfort. If a positive academic self-concept is inaccurate, such inaccuracy may serve as a disincentive to effort and an obstacle to achievement. Bandura argues, however, that in general high feelings of efficacy are more likely to be associated with successful performance and sustained effort. In addition, Brookover et al. (1964) show that, at equivalent IQ levels, adolescents with high academic self-concepts are much more likely to obtain high marks in school. In addition, it is probable that low academic self-concepts are generally discomfiting. Although unrealistic self-concepts may lay the foundation for inappropriate behavior, in general the consequences of a positive academic self-concept are favorable.

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SCHOOLS AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE:
AN ETHNOMETHODOLOGICAL LINKAGE

Bennetta Jules-Rosette and Hugh Mehan

INTRODUCTION

There is a critical need to establish a bridge between the sociological literature on desegregation and several closely related areas, including cross-cultural education, interactional studies of schooling, and comparative educational stratification. This article discusses how desegregation is perceived and socially constructed in school settings. It also provides an overview of key theoretical implications of U.S. desegregation studies from an interactionist perspective and suggests the importance of both cross-cultural and individual-level variables for research on desegregation and educational stratification.

To this end, in our first two sections, we critically review some of the previous studies of school desegregation. We find that these studies do not address the social organization of desegregation in the everyday lives of educators and students. As a result, it is difficult to assess the social consequences of desegregation. In the third section of the paper, we review selected ethnographic studies of schooling. These studies have examined everyday educational practices that have the unintended consequences of providing differential educational opportunities to students along class and ethnic lines. In a fourth section, we place the issue of U.S. desegregation in a broader cross-cultural perspective and conclude that U.S. policies and practices can be understood as part of a more general process of educational stratification involving the exclusion of minority groups. In two final sections, we analyze the policy implications of these lines of inquiry and outline suggestions for future research.

As a result of policy and funding contingencies, much of the literature on school desegregation in the United States frames the problem in a culturally and historically narrow manner. The 1954 Brown decision is treated as the touchstone for a series of dramas, conflicts, and evaluation studies centering around the processes and outcomes of U.S. desegregation. The studies may be divided into two major categories: (1) surveys of the attitudes toward and consequences of desegregation (e.g., Cramer, 1968; Coleman et al., 1975; Drury, 1980) and (2) short-term social psychological case-studies bearing upon the desegregation process (e.g., St. John, 1975; McDermott, 1976; Metz, 1978; Rist, 1979).[1]

Few conceptual linkages are explicitly made between policy studies and more detailed psychological and ethnographic research. Many of these studies have been limited to single schools and communities without longitudinal research. Even more salient is the tendency to define desegregation as an immediate, time-bound political issue in the United States rather than conceptualizing the research problem more broadly in terms of intercultural communication, educational stratification, and differential power relationships (see Ogbu, 1978:369-70).

REASSESSING SCHOOL DESEGREGATION FROM AN INTERACTIONIST PERSPECTIVE

Structurally, school desegregation has referred both to the elimination of racially separate or "dual" school systems and to the inclusion of minority students in previously uniracial schools. The legal process of desegregation has been studied in terms of attitudes toward projected and ongoing schemes for altering the racial/ethnic composition of schools. The problems of proportionate integration and token inclusion of minorities in previously segregated schools are related, though independent, topics of study. Among the positive potential outcomes of the desegregated school situation are: (1) improved self-esteem of the participants, (2) reduced prejudice through intergroup contact, and (3) increased access of all participants to educational opportunities and career options. Some of the research on the topic has addressed these issues directly.

Survey data indicate that segregation is most pronounced in the largest school districts of major U.S. cities with populations of 100,000 or more. Coleman et al. (1975) conclude that segregation is proportionately higher in the elementary school grades than at the secondary level and that, on the average, white children have less school structured contact with minority children than the minorities have with children of outgroups. Educational tracking appears to cross-cut desegregation efforts at the advanced stages of schooling.

Some of the correlational studies that have addressed the problem of ethnic imbalance in the classroom are methodologically flawed (see Lewis and St. John, 1974; Drury, 1980). These studies argue that academic and social contact with white students in itself improves the school performance of minority students (see Patchen et al., 1980). However, they leave two important topics unexamined: the influence of a minority presence upon the total interracial setting and the social relationships among majority and minority students.[2]

Translated into interactional terms, these findings suggest that desegregation seldom leads to a balanced ethnic mix in school settings. Minority students may isolate themselves within the interracial classroom setting. Resegregation is also externally reinforced by the school's policies of tracking and academic stratification. Stigmas may be attached to the formation of friendship and network contacts outside of one's primary ethnic group (Patchen et al., 1976). In this way, the desegregated school setting mirrors and perpetuates existing structures of dominance and separation found within the society as a whole. It is important in this context to distinguish between legally mandated desegregation, assertive efforts toward school integration in academic and informal activities (Pettigrew, 1969; Pettigrew and Back, 1971), and multicultural education.

In a study of desegregation in two rural Georgia high schools, Bullock and Braxton (1973) found that black students were considerably more skeptical about the experience after they entered desegregated schools. While initially fearful white students regarded the desegregation efforts as successful, black students became even more keenly aware of racial imbalance, separation afterwards, and social stratification. This paradox in perception underlines the importance of studying interaction in desegregated environments.

Suggested foci of study include: teacher-student interaction, student evaluation processes, labeling of students, and school referral practices. These experiences have a direct impact upon students' processes of identity formation and expression in intercultural settings. The situational variables surrounding desegregation must be reexamined, to locate the phenomenon of desegregation in the daily lives of educators and students and thereby to determine how its consequences may be most effectively assessed. Individual case-studies are also essential to developing profiles of the "moral careers" (Goffman, 1963) and adjustment patterns of minority students in desegregated settings. We may ask how the individual student manages the adjustment to a desegregated school through the deliberate manipulation of aspects of the setting in daily interaction (Garfinkel, 1967). Avoidance and aggression, cited as responses to desegregation in a number of studies (e.g., Patchen et al., 1977; St. John and Lewis, 1975), may be viewed as strategies for adapting to interracial settings under a variety of conditions.

In a summary of five studies of desegregated schools, Wax (1979) reports that contact among blacks and whites was different in academic and recreational arenas. Although blacks and whites were physically co-present in classrooms, there were barriers in social mixing for recreational activities such as the school prom. Black students who affected white upper-class norms for clothing, hairstyles, speech patterns, and aspirations for future achievement were included in social activities by whites, while those who did not adopt such standards were overlooked and excluded from extra-curricular activities.

There were also differences in resegregation in upper and lower academic tracks in three of the five desegregated schools. While college-prep classes were biracial, lower-track classes were less so, thereby reinforcing a self-validating cycle of separation. Students in the lower track reported rarely participating in class or extra-curricular activities because they found school unexciting. Their lack of involvement is followed by avoidance on the part of the school administration. In turn, this avoidance leads to the student's further withdrawal. Attempting to locate the cause of resegregation is difficult. Wax's study appears to miss two important points. First, interracial contact is not simply a matter of student selection or choice; it is structured by the sorting practices of the schools. Second, white students' cultural activities are not the only ones in an interracial school. Before concluding that blacks who are not participating in white activities are "withdrawn," their participation in alternative intracultural activities needs to be considered.

Hanna examined some aspects of interracial interaction in a "magnet" school in Texas with a court ordered 50/50 desegregation ratio (Hanna, 1982). She found that black and white students, although they ostensibly spoke the same language, did not share the same styles of social interaction and verbal and nonverbal communication. As a result, the perceived cultural gaps between black and white children widened in the desegregated situation. Initial fears and prejudices were encouraged, with children from both groups becoming increasingly defensive. Hanna documents these findings by demonstrating the dynamics of an aggressive social activity that she labels "meddlin'." Aggression was used as a dominance strategy triggered by new and ambiguously defined social settings, threats to self-esteem, and mutual feelings of uncertainty or inferiority. Black students used aggression to mark the social boundaries of groups and to compensate for insecurities in academic performance. White students reciprocated in these activities, thereby creating a situation in which formal classroom activities and informal recreational settings were separate for each group. Both black and white students were the targets of "meddlin'" behavior which originated in the classroom and extended beyond it into the community.

Furthermore, Hanna (1982:339) contends that "meddlin'," seemingly an innocent informal behavior among children in the desegregated setting, actually "contributes to segregation in desegregation." Through this process, black students are labeled as the instigators of aggression, and the potential for normal intergroup contact without conflict diminishes. She suggests that aggressive and negative stereotyping are the causal factors in a conflictful biracial situation from the child's point of view. The children in her sample do not react to problems of desegregation in a global or philosophical way. Instead, pupils of both races seek to pin the blame for difficulties on troublemakers and members of an outgroup. These troublemakers are stereotyped by teachers and students alike, with the result that desegregation reinforces negative preconceptions rather than destroying them. The roots of aggression, however, extend beyond the immediate setting to a larger cultural context. The styles of interaction and communication in the desegregated setting draw upon the repertoire of interactive competencies and expectancies that the child brings to the new environment.

Underlying Hanna's approach is a model of cultural conflict which Ogbu (1978) has criticized as incomplete. The cultural conflict model analyzes problems of desegregation in terms of differences in interactional, linguistic, and cognitive styles. Ogbu argues that such a model does not consider the institutional and economic bases for contrasting attitudes toward schooling that emerge in the desegregated situation. This criticism is pertinent to our review. Comparative data (Ogbu, 1978) indicate that severe discrepancies in academic performance and classroom adjustment occur wherever the minority population takes on castelike characteristics that are reinforced by restricted occupational roles and limited social mobility. Although these barriers become apparent in classroom communication, their implications extend beyond the classroom to the social and economic structure of the society at large. Hence, Ogbu contends that the job ceiling for U.S. blacks in the larger society directly influences their attitudes toward schooling on the whole as well as their work incentives and patterns of performance. Drawing on comparative data collected among West Indians in British schools and Buraku outcasts in Japan, Ogbu concludes that problems in adjustment and performance result from limitations in the occupational and social possibilities of minority groups that face significant barriers in the larger society. Thus, while Hanna suggests that problems of communication stemming from the black child's aggressive reactions weaken the positive outcomes of desegregation, Ogbu argues that classroom conflicts merely represent a microcosm of the society at large.[3]

Similarly, based upon a sociometric study of a desegregated classroom setting, St. John (1975) found that the short-term effects of desegregation on the self-esteem of black students were, in some instances, negative. Barriers to forming friendship ties in the interracial setting have been traced in both sociometric studies of the classroom (St. John and Lewis, 1975) and ethnographic research (Hanna, 1982; Wax, 1979; and Metz, 1978). Leaving aside questions of measurement, one must ask what is taking place within the desegregated setting to create opportunities for increasing either cooperation or resegregation.

Schofield (1979) tested Allport's conditions for equal-status contact among seventh and eighth graders in a desegregated school. She found that intergroup contact increased among the seventh-grade students who spent the bulk of their time in a homogeneous school environment. In the eighth grade, however, students were separated into high and low tracks largely along racial lines. In Schofield's study, interracial peer contact declined as a result of academic tracking. Approximately 80% of the children in the accelerated program were white. They tended to remain together during lunchtime and recreational periods. Thus, the structuring of academic activities influenced the overall resegregation of students in both classroom and informal settings. Tracking generated a new means for assessing the student's academic and social status apart from background socio-economic and cultural factors. Thus, even within the same interracial school, the conditions of equal-status contact among students appear to be fragile indeed. Our discussion of the sorting practices within multicultural schools will return to this point.

Pettigrew and Back (1971:92) emphasize the problems with some micro social psychological studies in the mold of St. John's, Schofield's, and Patchen's research when they state that much of this work "has had more success in measuring such gross aspects as preferences and amount of interaction than in teasing out the more intricate aspects of conduct." They suggest that a focus on desegregation rather than integration has generated a narrowness in both conception and method in the "status score" studies. If improved test performance on the part of the minority group members and their increased popularity in a biracial setting are the immediate measures of the success of desegregation, one can only conclude that many initial experiments have failed.

Despite significant areas of disagreement, the interactionist and institutional approaches can be reconciled by a model that takes into account the conditions of contact and cooperation between groups as seen in their own terms. The legacy of group failure and the potential for individual successes are played out at the situational level in classroom, testing, and referral settings within the desegregated school. These interactions are not merely reflections of a larger social structure, as some theorists have argued (Bowles and Gintes, 1976; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). They constitute the occasions on which the terms of that structure are created and negotiated by participants. Children in desegregated schools use a variety of techniques to cope with the setting. Rather than examining the desegregation situation in terms of "predictable" failures or ideal goals, we suggest that it may be approached in terms of the repertoire of knowledge, competencies, and strategies actually used by participants in the setting.[4]

From the point of view of this paper, the debate over the long and short-term benefits of desegregation is not at issue. Rather, a more subtle set of questions emerges when the dynamics of interaction in school are considered. First, does the mere co-presence of white and black students in a single setting constitute "desegregation"? Second, how is desegregation perceived and played out within the school system, including the classroom setting? And third, what practices do students, teachers, and administrators use to manage, achieve, and report the desegregation process?

Figure 1 emphasizes that school events take place within a larger cultural and social environment. Socio-economic status appears to influence peer contact in school, although studies are divided on the extent and direction of this influence. Occupational mobility clearly affects the child's academic motivation and career selection, as Ogbu emphasizes. In turn, the cultural capital that students bring to the school setting influences their performance and interpretations of the school environment. Even in the presence of these external influences, events within the school may be considered to retain an autonomy of their own within the larger social structure.

RESEARCH ON THE EFFECTS OF DESEGREGATION IN CLASSROOM AND SCHOOL SETTINGS

Studies of classroom interaction in both the United States and Great Britain emphasize the importance of establishing a relationship between the formal features of the learning situation and the range of interactions that take

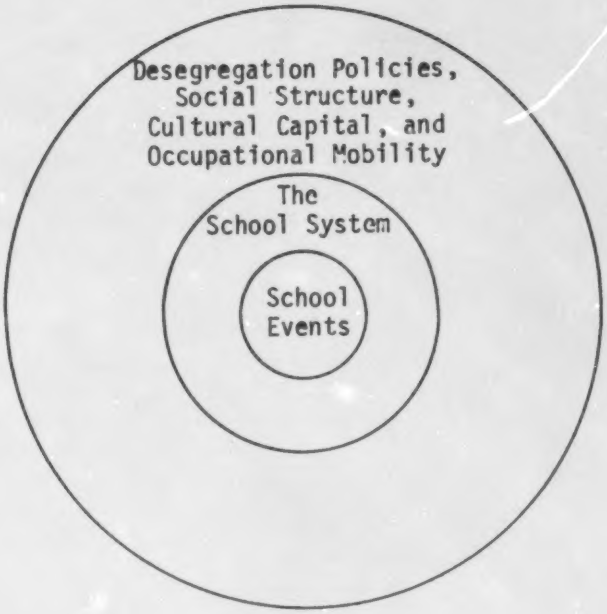
Desegregation Policies,
Social Structure,
Cultural Capital, and
Occupational Mobility
The
School System
School
Events

Figure 1. The School in Social Context

place between students and teachers (Philips, 1972; Cicourel et al., 1974; Mehan, 1978, 1979; Gumperz and Herasmichuk, 1975; Bernstein, 1975; Bremme and Erickson, 1977). Mehan (1979) demonstrates that there is a tacitly learned and hierarchically ordered structure of language use and interaction between students and teachers in the classroom. Inevitably, this ordering involves an evaluation of the sequence of instructional interaction by the teacher (see Goffman, 1981, and Mehan, 1978). These pedagogic exchanges take place in the context of student-teacher interactions. Thus, they are colored by the mutual expectations of students and teachers. A student who has problems communicating in standard English by virtue of language or dialectal differences is handicapped in routine interactions and can be subject to a negative labeling process. Bernstein (1964) and Labov and Robins (1969) have analyzed this situation in terms of the social consequences deriving from alternative speech codes.[5] This sociolinguistic approach raises the possibility that speech exchanges reinforce dominance and exclusion.

Variations in communicative competence emerge sharply in the desegregated classroom. Minority children who have difficulty mastering a standard pedagogic format may be labeled by teachers and socially isolated from majority peers. Thus, it becomes necessary to examine the conditions under which the desegregated classroom may become internally stratified, with minority students both structurally and individually isolated in the new environment. On the more positive side, if such isolation does not occur, we must examine the conditions that promote success.

This situation is intensified in formal learning sessions in which intercultural conflicts surface. McDermott (1977) describes two such settings. In the first case, a first-grade Hispanic student was prohibited from participating in a reading group because she was unable to compete effectively for a turn to read and demonstrate her skills. More than language was at issue. The student's entire interactional style effectively isolated her from instructional interaction and progress. In a second case, Oakland students speaking a black English vernacular were prevented by the teacher from reading aloud until they had mastered standard English. As a consequence, these students lagged behind their peers in demonstrable reading skills. They were both culturally and academically labeled (see Gumperz and Herasmichuk, 1975).

Labeling and stereotyping create mutual reactions. Students isolated from their peers in turn pursue the self-fulfilling activity of isolating themselves. Rubin (1972) suggests that this reaction is an artifact of the inferior quality of minority educational and classroom experiences in previously segregated settings. McDermott (1977:209) also cogently summarizes the results of this situation: "...(M)ost minority groups that have relied on the public schools have paid the price; identity struggles replace learning tasks, and children often leave school knowing little more...than when they entered." Detailed analysis of interactional strategies in the classroom can contribute to desegregation research by attuning observers to the techniques that students and teachers employ to foster separation and stratification within an ethnically and culturally mixed environment. These techniques include "phantom performances" (Rist, 1973) in which the teacher presents material to an unresponsive and alienated student audience, power plays by students and teachers, mutual stereotyping across racial/ethnic groups, teachers' sorting practices, and self-segregation within a desegregated environment. Findings concerning interracial avoidance in desegregated settings have been corroborated by experimental and ethnographic data (see Jacobson, 1977). It is difficult, however, to "measure" adequately these responses as reactions to desegregation on the interactional level without a cross-section of field data collected through intensive classroom observation.[6]

Sociometric studies (e.g., St. John and Lewis, 1975) have demonstrated that group acceptance has a positive effect on academic performance in interracial classroom settings. Popularity in this case is measured by the formal ratings of peers and not by observation of classroom interaction. The influence of background factors, of changing situational expectancies, and of the evaluation of teachers is rarely examined or measured. One problem with both the literature on equal-status contact (e.g., Riordan, 1975) and the claims to disprove it (e.g., Patchen et al., 1977) is a failure to investigate how status is perceived by the respective groups and to relate these categories to pupils' subjective perceptions of themselves in the school setting.

Along these lines, the impact of direct and mediated experiences outside of the classroom is seldom analyzed. Social psychologists working under controlled conditions (e.g., Mischel and Staub, 1965) have some difficulty disentangling the effects of generalized expectancies in interaction and situation-specific determinants of choice and behavior. Similar problems arise in using students' "folk" ratings of each other to determine group acceptance when private opinions and public interactional patterns are contradictory. The collection of data on preconceptions and stereotypes from children, as exemplified by Hanna's research, does not necessarily clarify the results. Children may blame outgroup members because it is accepted as "common knowledge" that the outsiders create troublesome situations. The larger question then becomes how this knowledge is generated and applied in the classroom setting.

The study of desegregation will not become adequate to its task until it turns to an in-depth study of how the participants in the desegregated setting respond to that setting. The desegregated school is supposed to be institutionally structured to prevent segregation. It is clear, however, that resegregation does occur. How does it occur? What do the participants in the desegregated setting do to create, maintain, and transform this resegregation?

SORTING PRACTICES IN DESEGREGATED AND MULTICULTURAL SCHOOLS

It has been noted that the process of resegregation may be initiated by the students in desegregated settings. We have also stated that these desegregated school settings, although institutionally structured in an attempt to avoid and prevent segregation, have recurrences of segregation. This suggests that the school structure is involved in the process of resegregation. Studies in multi-cultural schools which are not under legal desegregation mandates contain important insights on the processes of interracial interaction. These studies suggest that schools play an active role in structuring the intergroup contact and social lives of students. The fragility of the equal-status contact hypothesis has already been noted. Educational tracking appears to be a significant factor that reinforces the resegregation of minority students within both multicultural and desegregated schools. Therefore, it is useful to examine the sorting practices used in both desegregated and multicultural schools. We must ask how sorting practices work to promote resegregation and, alternatively, how they operate in successful integrated and magnet schools.

The tracking system for grouping students according to future occupations is one way in which the school plays an active role in structuring intergroup contact. Hollingshead (1949) found the social-class divisions of the community were reflected in school tracks. He also found that social-class divisions within the elementary school were recapitulated in the different courses of study offered in the high school. Adolescents from the upper social strata dominated the college preparatory track. The general curriculum drew the majority of its students from Hollingshead's third and fourth social classes, while the commercial courses primarily received students from the lowest socio-economic classes. Hollingshead shows that it was accepted practice to sort students into educational programs based on their social-class backgrounds rather than individual effort or performances. The cream did not rise naturally to the top of this school. It was driven there by the sorting practices of the school.

Rosenbaum (1976) places in sharper focus the sorting practices that affect the academic careers of students. The stated policy of the junior and senior high school that Rosenbaum studied seemed to minimize divisions within the school, maximize options, and maintain free choice. The only division in the junior high school was a single elective, and the divisions in the senior high school permitted opportunities across a considerable array of tracks. Free choice was emphasized in each division, and none of the divisions was said to close off the possibility of track change. Although Rosenbaum found that the school policy was ambivalent, he said that the image projected by the school was one of a "contest" mobility system. In such a system, students would be free to compete for courses and subsequent career opportunities. When Rosenbaum examined school records which depicted track changes over time, he found very little mobility. Most students stayed in their initial track. The changes that did occur fit into a pattern of downward mobility. Of those students who did move up, very few moved beyond the adjacent track. Fewer than 3% of the students progressed from the noncollege to the college tracks. In contrast, 21% of the college students changed to a noncollege track the following year. Downward track mobility was, thus, seven times as great as upward track mobility. This pattern is also particularly noteworthy in the case of minority students in the desegregated environment.

The guidance counseling system for grouping students according to ability and interest plays a major role in sorting students (Cicourel and Kitsuse, 1963; Erickson, 1975; Rosenbaum, 1976). Cicourel and Kitsuse (1963) interviewed high school counselors to determine how they decided to tell black and white students of different socio-economic backgrounds whether they should apply to college and, consequently, anticipate a professional or non-professional occupation. They found that black students who had average to high academic records were systematically steered away from college careers while white students of high socio-economic rank who had mediocre and low academic records were encouraged to attend college.

Similarly, Erickson and Shultz (1982) analyzed more than eighty counseling interviews between junior college counselors and their students. The authors provide a description of some of the interactional practices that structure stages in students' careers. They demonstrate how aspects of social identity not related to the school setting are introduced into the decisions that occur at school. Their analysis of the degree of synchrony between counselor and student during interviews reveals that the counselor and student together actively construct educational options for students.

The importance of school sorting procedures is even more poignantly reflected in Mercer's (1974) study of students placed in special "mentally retarded" classrooms. California public schools at the time of Mercer's study utilized committees composed of psychologists, nurses, teachers, and administrators to evaluate recommendations about students made by teachers, parents, or principals. Students were referred to these committees for a number of reasons, including discipline for misconduct and treatment of poor or outstanding academic performance. The ultimate decision that these committees made was crucial for the social identity of the student. The committee could recommend several educational alternatives: (1) return the student to the regular classroom, maintaining the identity "normal student"; (2) switch the student to some other classroom; or (3) demote or place the student in a "special" education classroom that bestowed the identity of "special student."

Decisions about the special placements are informed by IQ test results. The cut-off point on the IQ test for mental retardation in service at the time of Mercer's study was 80. A student scoring above that point to about 100 IQ points, was defined by the test as normal, albeit "slow". A student scoring below that point was defined by the test as "mentally retarded." Although this system seems objective, Mercer found that placement into the mentally retarded category was not automatic. Some 1,234 students were referred to the various psychological service committees in the schools in her study, and 865 were given the IQ test. Of that 865, 134 scored below 80. However, only 64% of those students who scored less than 80 were recommended for placement in mentally retarded (MR) classrooms. Of the students placed in MR classrooms, 75% were Mexican-American and 22% were black. These figures are disproportionate given the distribution of boys and girls in the overall school population.

These results could be used to reinforce the view that the prior background of students, whether genetically (Jensen, 1969) or socio-economically established (Coleman et al., 1966; Bereiter and Engleman, 1972), causes differences in school achievement. This classification was not, however, merely the result of poor, minority, and male students failing the IQ tests more often than their counterparts. Mercer found that students who had similar scores on an objective test were treated differentially by school personnel. The disproportionate number of poor, minority and male students in the MR category suggests that mental retardation is not an inherent characteristic or quality of these individuals but a label affixed to the student by the institutional practices of the school.

Rist (1970) reports similar conclusions regarding labeling. He observed the progress of a group of children in an all-black St. Louis school from the first day of school through the school year, and continued to visit the classroom until the end of the second grade. Within the first few days of school, the teacher assigned students to three groups (high, medium, and low). The high performers were seated near the front, the middle group near the middle of the class, and the lowest group in the back. The distribution of students seemed to be based on characteristics associated with social class and cultural background, i.e., neatness, style of dress, and skin color. Children from one-parent households with an unemployed worker were more likely to be assigned to the low group. Rist also observed differences in treatment of the three groups. Those designated as "slow learners" were taught less frequently and subjected to more control-oriented behavior. Placement into the three groups took on a castelike character. Once students were sorted into the groups, it was difficult to escape (see Eder, 1981).

Mehan et al. (1981) studied the special education referral system in a mid-size California suburban school district. That school district, like other school districts that operated under the "Education for All Handicapped Students Act," established special education programs to serve the needs of students who meet its criteria. These programs included special classrooms, learning disabilities (LD) classrooms, and in-class remedial assistance. The special education referral process is an important aspect of this program. The Act directs school districts to establish a systematic procedure to assess and place students in the learning environments that best meet their special educational needs. In the school district they studied, the referral process was composed of a series of actions, including school-site committees, psychological assessment, parent conferences, and district-level committee meetings. The purpose of this process was to meet the needs of the handicapped student by developing an "individualized educational plan" (IEP).

The Act indicates that 12% of the school-aged population will be served by special education programs. The compulsory thrust of this law provides an incentive to search for, identify, and place students into special education programs, to meet mandated quotas. The legal requirement to search for special students is buttressed by financial incentives. School districts are provided funds from state and federal sources for each student in regular classrooms and a greater amount of money for students in special education programs. They receive more money for students in LD classrooms, and still more funding for students in "whole day" programs on a sliding scale.

The number of students already assigned to special education programs eliminated other options from consideration, while programs that were "open" and had not reached the legally mandated quota remained subject to consideration. Vagaries in the school calendar influenced the consideration of placement options. The district operated on a "year round" schedule. Instead of conducting classes from September until June, and designating the summer months as vacation, a staggered schedule of classes and vacations was maintained. Because of this staggered schedule, regular and special education teachers who were to cooperate in the education of certain students often found themselves on incompatible track schedules. This incompatibility of schedules eliminated certain placement options from consideration.

These legal, fiscal, and practical constraints have an influence on educational placement, IEPs, and students' identities. Educational placements are not decided, and IEPs are not solely written, on the basis of students' educational needs. These actions are taken based on an interlocking of these issues and such factors as space and money available. It means that students' identities are constructed by the instituional practices of the school. Thus, the designation "handicapped student" is as much a product of the school calendar, the demographic characteristics of the school population, and other features of the social organization of the school as it is a response to some inherent characteristics of the student.

These studies of the multicultural schools' sorting practices are important because they explore the schools' contribution to students' access to an academic curriculum which influences later life options. Yet, these studies leave many questions unanswered. For example, how are students placed in one track rather than another, e.g., the college prep track versus a general or commercial track? The "contest mobility system" assumed to operate in U.S. schools would suggest that students have considerable influence over track placement. Students would move to different levels by choice, constrained only by ability and effort. The structural considerations involved in tracking in the multicultural environment are, however, more complex. Institutional decisions and sorting practices result in the internal stratification of students in the multicultural school along racial, ethnic, and socio-economic lines. It is our hypothesis that these sorting practices may assume even more importance in the desegregated setting, where racial and cultural factors directly influence educational policies and decision-making. Coalitions formed across subgroups of students when more than one minority group is present in the multicultural setting are influenced by the structure of school sorting practices. We may also infer that the intergroup contact among students in desegregated settings cannot be treated as a matter of free choice in an isolated environment.

MINORITY EDUCATION IN CROSS-CULTURAL SETTINGS

The previous section has emphasized the variety of social functions that schooling in desegregated and multicultural settings serves beyond educational instruction. Although desegregation has a specific legal definition in U.S. schools, the social organization of multicultural schooling may productively be examined in a comparative perspective as a larger phenomenon. Placing U.S. desegregation in a broader perspective is the topic of this section. Cross-cultural studies focus attention on more universal patterns of stratification common to several societies.

Comparative data on the Zambian school system and the treatment of West Indians and other minorities in the British school system (Ogbu, 1978) suggest that employment discrimination, impoverishment, and rapid but uneven techno-economic development are worldwide factors that influence the increasing isolation of minority groups in modern educational systems. An overview of the social conditions and economic strategies that appear to hold constant across these cases would broaden the theoretical scope and methodological effectiveness of U.S. desegregation research. Ultimately, such a task requires an important conceptual shift in desegregation research toward an analysis of the impact of educational stratification upon the social and political inclusion of marginal groups on a global scale.

In his study of West Indians in Britain, Ogbu (1978) notes patterns of tracking and internal segregation similar to those already cited for U.S. cases. According to a 1973 parliamentary report cited by Ogbu, 70% of the 5,500 immigrant students placed in special schools for the educationally handicapped were West Indians. Although the percentage of West Indian students in classes and schools for the retarded was low (only 7%) nationwide, these children constituted 60% to 70% of the students placed in schools for the educationally subnormal in certain sections of London. The use of a creole dialect with differential exposure to standard English was cited as a major reason for the poor performance of West Indian pupils on standardized tests.

Two policies were introduced to handle these problems of acculturation and educational lag: a quota system requiring the dispersal of immigrant children in excess of 33% of the school population prior to 1965, and remedial education programs for immigrants first instituted in 1965. Prior to 1962, a laissez-faire attitude was taken toward the integration of West Indian students into normal schools. With the legal restriction of immigration in the 1960s, remedial education programs became a major solution to the difficulties encountered in mixed schools. Ogbu (1978) proposes that the ceiling on West Indian employment in Britain has operated as a negative incentive with respect to school performance. Educational policy has mirrored the problems of a pluralizing urban society. The result has been resegregation through educational policy in a context where formal racial and ethnic barriers were not previously enforced. It is important to note that differences in language mastery were critical to the labeling and tracking of West Indian students into British remedial programs.

In many developing countries, language and ethnicity are also the locus of major educational and policy decisions. Education is viewed not only as a resource for job training but also as a vehicle for the creation of national identity and political integration. For instance, in Zambia where English is the official language, children are exposed to at least one of seven nationally recognized African dialects in the primary school setting (Kashoki, 1977).[7] As a result of the high geographic mobility and urban-rural migration rates after Zambian independence, the vernacular language of instruction is not necessarily the child's mother tongue. Furthermore, the diverse languages of northern and southern Zambia are not mutually intelligible. In such a situation, the phenomena of diglossia and triglossia develop. The child is called upon to use English in classes related to mathematics, science, and technology and an official vernacular language in other instructional settings. In still other settings with friends, the child may use a third shared language. Serpell (1976) notes that even at the university level with a minimum of eight years of formal instruction in English, Zambian students chose to converse with close friends in a language other than English. Public learning and private discourse appear to occur in separate cultural domains. This finding mirrors the separation of academic and social activities that was found among blacks and whites in desegregated schools. Sociolinguistic research has demonstrated that code switching operates as a bridge between these public and private domains (Gumperz and Hernandez, 1971).

Multilingual instructional policies in Zambia serve much the same purpose as school desegregation mandates in the United States. Differences of ethnicity and status in a pluralizing society are believed to be minimized when more than one language is officially offered. In fact, however, those students who speak English at home are socialized to succeed in a formal educational setting where that language is dominant. On the other hand, a student who speaks neither the accepted vernacular *lingua franca* nor English at home is at a distinct disadvantage. Serpell (1976) compares the latter situation to that of the black American working-class student with sporadic exposure to the use of standard English outside of the classroom.

Cognitive studies of test performance in West Africa (Price-Williams, 1962; Cole et al., 1971) amd Zambia (Deregowski and Serpell, 1971) demonstrate that exposure to European languages introduces patterns of conceptual ordering and recall that are not explicit in some African languages. For example, Greenfield's experiments among Senegalese and French students (Greenfield et al., 1966) found that certain superordinate categories denoting color and shape were absent from the Wolof language. Therefore, monolingual Wolof-speaking children asked to sort objects in terms of color and shape had more difficulty than French students and bilingual Wolof students. Clearly, these results are, in part, artifacts of the sorting test. However, they are also predictors of the future performance of children who have not mastered French within a "Western" oriented educational system. In this context, language is linked to ethnicity and social class and operates as a touchstone for formal school performance.[8]

Both the West Indian and African examples emphasize the interplay of language and ethnicity in the classroom. The vernacular language used to establish the student's personal identity is a hindrance in the public domain of academic performance. Disparities in language use and performance are invoked within the school structure to isolate students in terms of manifest abilities and ethnicity. In the British case, the weight of subtle linguistic differences is coupled with racial and regional origins to track students into special classes and separate schools. Success in the Zambian case is predicated upon the student's mastery of English and ability to use and switch to alternative language codes in the appropriate contexts. The vernacular language is used to introduce the child to schooling and to support the political structure of a multicultural society. The vernacular alone, however, is increasingly less useful at the higher rungs of educational attainment where English use and the mastery of diglossia or even triglossia become essential. These cross-cultural studies emphasize the importance of examining how multicultural settings, including desegregated schools, either promote or discourage the bicultural and bilingual adaptations of minority students. Available social psychological data on intergroup contact in U.S. desegregated settings barely touch upon this problem.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF THE INTERACTIONAL DATA ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Ten years ago, in reviewing the sociological literature on desegregation, Pettigrew and Back (1971:120) proposed "that a great upsurge of research activity directed at desegregation will be forthcoming in the 1970s." Indeed, although such studies have been abundant, their impact is still subject to question. The studies of status scoring (see Yarrow, 1958) begun in the late 1950s and research on attitude change have become increasingly sophisticated and elegant in terms of modeling procedures and methodology. In fact, large segments of the technical social psychological literature on desegregation are now opaque enough to be inaccessible to most legal experts, school administrators, and teachers. Policy technocrats and social scientists are needed to decode what participants see taking place in their own classrooms.

Although it may be possible to measure more effectively academic and task performance, the influence of peer contact, and the internal dynamics of power coalitions, surprisingly little attention has been devoted to the experience of desegregation and the child's description of the desegregated setting. Given the time factor, longitudinal studies of desegregation processes are still relatively rare (see Crain, 1968, and Pettigrew and Back, 1971).[9] Multicultural schools that have evolved in the 1970s as a result of desegregation rulings and the increased occupational and geographic mobility of minorities are also important settings for testing assumptions about interaction across racial and ethnic groups.

A major problem with micro-analytic studies in social psychology is a tendency to treat the school and the classroom as ideal laboratories for studying interaction and academic performance. The school, however, is an environment shaped by policy decisions, community reactions, and cultural preconceptions that lie beyond its walls. The conditions of cooperation and conflict generated within the school often do not meet the minimum requirements for intergroup cooperation anywhere. In such settings, alienation, apathy, and mutual distrust may develop as socially acceptable strategies for handling desegregation (Riordan, 1976). More often, however, the subgroups involved in the desegregated settings subtly separate themselves and are structurally separated by tracking, performance measures, and cultural history. The irony of multicultural programs honoring each subgroup's activities within the school is to be found in the knowledge that these groups do not share an equal social and economic status outside of the school.

Researchers who have focused on various forms of face-to-face interaction in schools have been somewhat successful in demonstrating that schools are not simply passive vehicles through which students move on their way to predetermined positions in the social order. The exhuberance of this position, however, can have unfortunate, albeit unintended, consequences for future research. Micro-ethnographic studies have included statements like: "classroom events are assembled in the interaction among participants", "educational test results emerge in the interaction between tester and student", and "students' identities are interactionally constructed." While calling into question a static view of schools as social institutions, such statements leave room for the conclusion that social structures are entirely interactional productions. Discussions of the culture of the classroom and the acquisition of cultural knowledge and communicative competence associated with it can lead to the inaccurate interpretation that school is autonomous from the society in which it functions.

In reviewing desegregation laws on the macro level, Elmore (1980) distinguishes between two forms of policy implementation: the regulatory approach in which control is exercised from the top (i.e., from the Federal government) and the programmatic view, in which control is exercised locally.[10] The former entails hierarchical control over policy; the latter involves delegated local control over policy. Desegregation laws in the U.S. have been prime examples of hierarchically controlled policies. Projected changes in policies toward desegregation at the federal level also raise serious questions for the prospects of sociological research. Over a decade ago, Pettigrew and Back (1971:105-106) isolated three factors that continue to dilute the potential impact of sociological studies of desegregation: (1) the timidity of private foundations and governmental agencies about providing funds for work in this "controversial" area; (2) an atmosphere of resistance to racial change by stern segregationists... and finally, (3) a sociological bias in race relations toward studying the static and segregation-maintaining elements, rather than the dynamic, desegregation-impelling features.

Social scientists are still faced with the same challenges to the scope and relevance of their work. These problems are compounded in the 1980s by the thrust of the "new Federalism" away from civil rights initiatives and large-scale social research. Prevailing policy in the 1980s seems to be aimed at removing the Federal government's jurisdiction in local affairs. The current trend has broad implications for desegregation efforts and the influence of desegregation research at the local level. It provides local agencies with greater freedom and flexibility in deciding how to achieve goals of racial balance and equality of education. On the other hand, the call for greater autonomy can become an excuse for inaction.

PROSPECTS FOR FUTURE INVESTIGATION

Educational research reflects the either/or dichotomy long established in Western scientific thinking. We have tacitly retained this way of thinking in our brief review of studies that point to the active role that school plays in the lives of students. In so doing, we may allude to a number of apparently mutually exclusive categories: "schools do make a difference", "schools don't make a difference"; "schools are active", "schools are passive";"research inside schools", and "research outside of schools."

These dualisms are a consequence of the more general distinction between "macro" and "micro" studies in sociology (see Knorr-Cetina and Cicourel, 1981). In the former, social structure is treated as a stable entity, and desegregation is viewed as the product of legal mandates. In the latter, insofar as it is said to exist, the school's structure evidenced in sorting practices are treated as a construction that emerges in interaction. Neither of these approaches, however, accepts the existence or the inclusion of the opposite in the foundation of its analytic design.

Davis and Moore (1945) and Parsons (1959) establish a clear relationship between school and society. In so doing, they uncritically accept the autonomy of each and the meaning of the connection between the two. Coleman et al. (1966), Jencks et al. (1972), and Rubin (1972) acknowledge a relationship between school and society while criticizing the noticeable fact of inequality in schooling for minority groups. They view this connection as part of a unidirectional causal argument that social-class background prefigures experiences both in and out of school. Although these theories acknowledge a school-and-society relationship, none of them explicitly expresses the substantive manner in which institutionalized forms of inequality are reflected in the interaction across racial and cultural groups. We must do more than appeal to factors such as the class-background characteristics of students, group stereotypes, and the structure of class relationships in society, when making claims about the consequences of schooling for students' careers.

As a first step in collapsing the social structure-social interaction dualism, we must show how institutional arrangements operate and are worked out in the day-to-day activities of educators in the arena of schooling. A second step in collapsing the structure-interaction dualism involves insuring that close scrutiny of school and classroom subunits does not result in treating them as autonomous configurations in research. Classrooms and other subunits of the school are influenced by the bureaucratic organization of the school and the society of which they are a part. Administrative policy concerning curriculum content, textbook choices, teaching methods, and testing practices established by school boards and state departments of education impinge upon educational practice in the classroom. The demands of the economy for a technically trained, literate, and compliant labor force make the school responsive to external forces. Furthermore, parents, having been to school themselves, voice opinions about how their children should be educated.

It is this relationship between schooling and society that must become a clearer focus of research on desegregated settings. If there is a correspondence between the organization of society and the organization of schools (Bernstein, 1981), social scientists need to study interactional mechanisms by which the structures of class and intercultural relations in society are reflected in educator-pupil relations. Schooling is the acquisition and transmission of specific cultural practices and information. Consequently, how the specific institutions of schooling, including the workings of the curriculum, are organized to transmit this "cultural capital" across generations should become a topic of inquiry.

To be more specific, it seems to us that it should be possible to conduct comparative studies of schooling in relationship to their communities and the policies that we have outlined. To do so, we would start with participants' definitions of the educational situation in desegregated schools. We would ask educators and policy-makers at Federal, state, and local levels to identify different types of schools and districts, e.g., those that are "effectively integrated," "recently desegregated," "starting to desegregate," and "racially isolated." With these members' definitions in hand, we would assign teams of researchers to such schools to examine their educational practices. The goal would be to discover what makes some schools effective and others not. Although this investigation would have an observational base, we would certainly not recommend limiting observations to classroom practices. The allocation of funds and personnel and the interplay between local, district, county, state, and Federal levels would be essential aspects in the analysis. Here the goal would be to locate and highlight schools that have accomplished integration successfully. Thus, the structural arrangements and interactional patterns of schools that promote desegregation or perhaps resegregation can be identified as guides for future action.

We suggest that projected work on desegregation become more sensitive to the fact that social structure and school structure do not exist in a simple technical relationship but are linked by practical operations performed by individuals and groups with specific interests. When we realize that social structure is both a product and a process of human activity, three questions arise. Whose human activity? For what purpose? What spirit defines, shapes, and controls the conditions of human activity? It is our recommendation that a significant portion of the future research on desegregation be aimed at uncovering the structures of inequality that appear in the larger society and are perpetuated and reproduced by sorting practices and interactional decisions in the desegregated school setting.

FOOTNOTES

1. Publications from the National Institute of Education (1976, 1977a, 1977b) should be consulted for a comprehensive overview of the case studies and policy-oriented research on desegregation.

2. Patchen et al. (1980) and Lewis and St. John (1974) among others suggest that contact with white students has positive academic and psychological effects on blacks. Seldom is the desegregation process regarded as a two-way exchange. The potential positive benefits of a minority presence in the classroom are neither acknowledged nor measured.

3. See Ogbu (1981). Here Ogbu argues that the academic performance of the black child is a reflection of disillusionment and lack of economic opportunity in the larger society. Although this hypothesis is illuminating, it does not account for a wide range of variation in classroom performance.

4. In a study of intergroup cooperation between two African churches, Jules-Rosette (1977) emphasizes the necessity for mutually complementary skills in negotiating an interaction. Because church members have relatively similar expectations of each other, maintained through mutual stereotyping, they are able to cooperate effectively in a joint performance in spite of the occasionally negative or inaccurate connotations of their mutual stereotypes.

5. Bernstein (1964) defines restricted codes as speech systems in which there are limited syntactic alternatives and few possibilities for verbal expansion. As a result of ethnicity and social-class factors, minority children are socialized in the use of restricted codes that handicap their ability to succeed in educational and occupational settings (Bernstein, 1972). In the interracial classroom, an interplay between restricted code use among minority pupils and the so-called "elaborated" code employed for instruction may be observed. In contrast to Bernstein, William Labov (1972) argues that the assumption that verbal deprivation prevails among black students is a myth that does not take into account the expressive richness and syntactic complexity of the nonstandard dialects labeled by Bernstein as restricted codes. Labov argues for a closer analysis of the sociocultural context of the black child's language use and the ways in which verbal competence is assessed by teachers.

6. Erickson (1975) and McDermott et al. (1978) emphasize the importance of descriptive adequacy in interactionist studies of the classroom. Similar criteria may be applied to studies of the desegregated school environment. Until a comparative sampling of ethnographic and detailed observational materials is collected, it is difficult to assess exactly what desegregation means and how it works in a variety of settings.

7. Kashoki (1977) tested over 600 school children on their comprehension of seven Zambian vernacular languages. His aim was to discover the extent of between-language communication possible based upon knowledge of one's own mother tongue. He found little comprehension of the Lozi and Tonga languages among those who were not native speakers. This finding suggests that lessons and conversations conducted in these languages would virtually exclude other students and could result in a linguistically stratified classroom if these languages were to be officially adopted.

8. Cole et al. (1971) show that non-literate Kpelle subjects demonstrate significantly different classificatory and recall abilities than literate school children trained in English. A larger array of conceptual categories and a greater ability to recall objects in these categories were demonstrated by the literate, English-speaking subjects.

9. Pettigrew and Back (1971) emphasize that large-scale longitudinal studies of desegregation have been rare due to limited funding and heated public controversy over the issue of desegregation. Instead, small-scale case studies and low-budget reports on single communities have emerged, without an effort to draw comparative conclusions that extend across several time periods. The focus on measuring peer contact in single school settings without introducing comparative data or studying the impact of policy changes suggests major shortcomings in much of the research on school desegregation.

10. Elmore (1980) distinguishes between Federal- and local-level initiatives in desegregation policy. The shift in control to the local level requires further comparative studies of the relationship between schools and political forces in the larger community.

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DEMOGRAPHY AND SCHOOL DESEGREGATION RESEARCH

Harold M. Rose

Social scientists have only recently conducted school desegregation research; and this research reflects diverse disciplinary perspectives, as the papers in this volume attest. This paper will review ecological and demographic research contributions that help to clarify some key issues associated with school desegregation in American public education since the mid-1950's. Prior to that, school desegregation was not a crucial public policy issue. Only during the most recent decade has this topic attracted more than a modicum of interest from social-science scholars. But as efforts to desegregate selected public school systems accelerated, interest in addressing various desegregation-related research issues also grew.

Although ecological and demographic research approaches are not the exclusive domain of a single discipline, they are employed most extensively by sociologists (Hawley, 1950). Nevertheless, even though sociologists pioneered ecological approach, it was used earlier by geographers. The underlying emphasis, however, differed between the two groups (Theodorson, 1961). The former largely emphasized the competition among social groups for sustenance; the latter specifically emphasized the relationship between the human population and the natural or physical environment. In the area of school desegregation research, these differing ecological orientations are useful in adding to our understanding of aspects of the macro-structural problems associated with school desegregation activity.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION AS A PUBLIC POLICY ISSUE

Desegregation as a public policy issue is an outgrowth of the cultural predisposition of residents in a specified environmental context and of the population composition of public school districts. In terms of both socioeconomic status and racial composition, the dynamic of population change has led to intensified competition for environmental resources, including quality public education. Groups with restricted access to this resource, and who believe acquiring access will greatly enhance their competitive position in American society, will attempt to overcome prior access barriers. Often finding educational access restricted, the nation's black population has therefore sought to have the restrictions removed. Thus some blacks view desegregation as removing a barrier that has historically led to labor market inequity.

To comprehend more fully the complexities associated with attempts to desegregate public schools in the United States, we will selectively review contributions of ecological and demographic research. To improve our understanding of certain basic issues associated with desegregation, not only will we review contributions of the latter research, but we will also attempt to illustrate how the operation of ecological and demographic processes leads to various outcomes that have an impact upon the potential for desegregating public education in environments where segregation is purported to exist.

BLACKS AND ECOLOGICAL ACCESS TO EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES

The composition of the nation's population and the position of varying groups within the national social system often lead to conflict in individual group goals. The attempt to desegregate public schools has emerged as an issue that has as its basis governmental denial of equal access to public resources, e.g., public education. In this instance blacks sought access to public-supported schools in school districts where access was denied on racial grounds (Kluger, 1975). All Southern states, as well as some border states, maintained dual educational systems, or in the latter instance provided a segregation option if local school districts chose it. As recently as the late 19th century, numerous urban centers beyond the South and the border states also operated separate schools on the basis of race (Lieberson, 1980). Thus a group's position in the social order helps to establish its ecological niche; but if the resources available within that niche are perceived as being intentionally denied, the aggrieved group will seek relief (Bullock, 1967). In this context school desegregation has become a public issue. As that issue has moved beyond the environmental context in which it originated, i.e., the South, it has begun to receive much greater attention from researchers, particularly those engaged in ecological and demographic research.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION RESEARCH AND THE ECOLOGICAL APPROACH

The goals of school desegregation and of school desegregation research are not always made clear -- a problem unlikely to be overcome easily because of complex issues. Likewise, it is often difficult to assess school desegregation research because the issues have not been clearly specified. Therefore, an attempt to specify the state of the art of research inquiry in ecological and demographic research partially reflects the availability of a set of research tools employed by researchers working in disciplinary or subdisciplinary areas that can be easily transferred to this research arena. This, however, simply represents the recency in which social science scholars have devoted attention to issues of this general type. At the same time it points up the increased willingness of some social scientists to become involved in prescriptive or policy-oriented research.

One principal problem for researchers working at this research scale is that legal opinions strongly influence the research agenda. Although social-science research has had some influence on these opinions (Kluger, 1975), it hardly appears that a reciprocal situation prevails. Nevertheless, the Coleman study undertaken during the Johnson administration was said to be designed to provide support for the goal of desegregation (Grant, 1973), or more precisely to specify the extent to which educational opportunity was being denied. Various court orders, however, have set into motion a series of activities that define desegregation; the scholarly community simply responds to the outcome of those activities. In some instances the response takes the form of simply monitoring the change associated with the court order; in others the merits of the order might be challenged in terms of its ecological or demographic impact; and in other circumstances the scholars' research expertise might be employed to assist in operationalizing the order itself (Foter, 1973). Needless to say, much of the research produced in this context is empirical, with limited evidence to date of research that will contribute to a better theoretical understanding of some of the more critical issues.

THE ROLE OF LAW AND SCHOOL DESEGREGATION RESEARCH

In the United States today, it would be difficult to assess the school desegregation issue, at least at the macro scale, without acknowledging the role of the law. Almost all desegregation activity has been initiated in response to involuntarily imposed governmental action. Although a few local governments have voluntarily promoted desegregation (e.g., Berkeley, California, and Evanston, Illinois), they are the exception rather than the rule. So, government generally defines when a school district is said to be segregated or desegregated, regardless of the population's demographic composition within the district's individual schools.

School desegregation research then is usually focused on changes occurring within school districts in the process of complying with an extra-local order to alter racial composition in some or all of their schools. Thus a desegregated system is defined in legal terms, not in social-science terms. Clearly, issues that might naturally be of interest to social scientists are not necessarily those of interest to the courts, particularly after the process has been initiated. School desegregation research, however, is generally undertaken within this context of governmental intervention in local school district affairs.

Because of regional differences in treating race as a status variable, school desegregation as a public policy issue was until recently confined to Southern school districts. Brown addressed that issue, setting the stage for much of what was to emerge in this area since then. Over the past 25 years a series of additional court cases treating some aspect of the issue have been adjudicated, frequently modifying the ground rules under which desegregation will occur.

Prior to 1970 most rulings were directed at Southern school districts and provided guidelines for desegregating the region's schools. But in 1972 the Keyes decision, involving a non-Southern school district (Denver, Colorado), demonstrated it was possible to bring in a finding of denial of due process in school systems previously defined as de facto segregated rather than as de jure segregated. The latter decision no doubt prompted increased research interest in this topic on the part of ecological and demographic researchers.

It was now possible that a growing number of urban places outside the South might be shown to be guilty of denying due process. During the 1960's numerous suits had been filed against non-Southern school districts, but seldom had a board of education been found guilty of racial discrimination. The Keyes decision turned all of this around, furnishing a legal basis for attacking de facto segregation. The context was such that the huge body of literature describing patterns of residential segregation in non-Southern cities provided a logical research link to the emerging school desegregation issue. This topic no doubt gave this research group an additional topic for investigation that represented a natural outlet for work done in a related area. So social-science research, and specifically that with an ecological orientation into school desegregation problems, has been guided by a series of court decisions, as well as by other governmental actions which have served as the impetus for initiating school desegregation activity throughout the nation. Ecologists and demographers possibly perceived this new round of activity as more challenging since the issues were much more complex than they were in the Southern case.

WHAT QUESTIONS SHOULD WE EXPECT ECOLOGICALLY ORIENTED DESEGREGATION RESEARCH TO ANSWER?

The question becomes what should we expect in terms of the nature of the research contribution of ecologists and demographers toward an enhanced understanding of the issues associated with attempts to desegregate schools when it has been determined that they are segregated. Given the kinds of skills that many academics possess, one might logically expect them to address three broad groups of questions. These questions would embrace (1) the specification of the potential for the activity, (2) the extent to which the activity has been achieved, and (3) the selected non-educational impact of the activity. These represent items that one would assume an informed public might wish to know about. The items also fall within these researchers' realm of expertise to at least provide partial answers.

The questions posed above appear to be relatively straightforward, and under the best of circumstances one would not anticipate that they represent questions to which we could not provide easy answers. But a review of the literature produced by ecologists and demographers demonstrates that what appear on the surface to represent easily answerable questions do not turn out that way. There are many reasons for this, but the most important no doubt is related to the lack of unanimity regarding what constitutes a segregated school district. When the issue was confined to the de jure segregated schools of the South, the problem was simpler, and within that context it might have been reasonable to expect a set of definitive answers to the aforementioned questions. As we will demonstrate a bit later, the population dynamics taking place in the United States during the previous three decades have led to a high level of spatial segregation on the basis of both race and class in urban areas throughout the nation, such that by the mid-1960's racial isolation in the public schools was universally widespread.

This finding led the U.S. Civil Rights Commission (1967) to comment: "Racial isolation in the schools, then, is intense whether the cities are large or small, whether the proportion of Negro enrollment is large or small, whether they are located North or South."

Demographers can easily specify the extent to which subgroup isolation exists within individual school districts, but it is a much more difficult task to state how much of this isolation can be attributed to efforts of local school boards to manipulate a school's racial composition. Glazer (1964) has correctly indicated that racial concentration is not synonymous with racial segregation. But if the issue is desegregation, how do we approach it if we cannot easily distinguish segregated from non-segregated school districts when a school's racial makeup does not provide definitive clues? Issues such as these complicate the task of these researchers, although the disciplinary base from which these researchers approach their task should assist in clarifying the issue. Outside a legal context it is difficult to define what constitutes a segregated school district, leading most desegregation-oriented research to be guided by one legal decision or another.

The problem was further complicated by the insistence of civil rights groups that racial isolation in non-Southern school districts was at least partially intentional and that therefore local school systems should be mandated to alter the existing racial balance. Scholars, like others, respond to these efforts in a differential fashion based on their own social and cultural histories, and so the stage was now set for macro-ecological and demographic school-desegregation research to take on an adversarial character. In many ways the position of these scholars parallels that of health care professionals who side with one group or another in the current abortion controversy. In both issues it is not a matter of differences in technical expertise that distinguishes the proponents, but rather the norms and values that one brings to the enterprise. Therefore, we should expect conflicting signals as they relate to the previously posed questions. Nevertheless, our review of this group's scholarly contributions should allow us to arrive at some crude notion regarding the extent to which these scholarly contributions assist in providing answers to those questions and to what extent those answers are constrained by technical difficulties and/or researcher values. On a question-by-question basis, these values can be expected to vary.

THE DOMAIN OF ECOLOGICAL RESEARCH

To comprehend more fully the ability of ecological and demographic research to assist us in answering the aforementioned questions, one should specify the domain of these academic interests. Ecological and demographic research is often conducted jointly since both--e.g., the environment and population--form an integral relationship in traditional ecological analysis of the type introduced by the Chicago School of sociology in the early decades of this century. It should be emphasized, however, that not all ecological research evolves from that tradition, nor is all demographic research which addresses itself to school desegregation issues necessarily associated with human ecology issues. Therefore, these two research orientations are not always integrated, and in individual instances one or the other may constitute a passive element in the analysis.

This differential emphasis may simply reflect the researcher's disciplinary background or the specific desegregation issue that the researcher chose to investigate. Nevertheless, an ecological analysis tends to emphasize the evolution of a set of processes designed to promote environmental equilibrium. The social-change character of activity designed to promote school desegregation is often thought to upset a previously existing equilibrium manifested by a particular group's control over environmental resources. Under such circumstances desegregation can be seen as the dependent variable, while the demographic characteristics of the population and environmental attributes are the independent variables. Although ecological scale is thought to be critical to the analysis, measures of a group's response to this externally introduced change are thought to be well suited for ecological analysis.

REGIONAL DIFFERENCES IN THE ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL SPACE

The organization of social space in the United States, i.e., group control of the environment, bears directly upon numerous issues associated with school desegregation and correspondingly with school desegregation research. For instance, in the South where a system of legal segregation historically prevailed, the social organization of space differed from that in the non-South. That is, resources such as public services were not tied to one's location in space, but ostensibly to one's position in the social order. In areas outside the South, especially in large urban centers, resource availability was often associated with one's location in space. Thus, in the latter context, competition between groups for a position in the spatial order was largely tantamount to a position in the social order. Differences in the regional ecology of resource allocation on the basis of social status have led to a very different set of problems vis-a-vis school desegregation.

It is unlikely that the Chicago School of sociology, where the traditionally accepted notions related to human ecology originated, could have evolved at the University of North Carolina during the same period, because empirical observations that form the basis of ecological theory would have differed in the two environments. One important difference distinguishing the two would have been the environmental scale of the social aggregates, e.g., big-city North and small-town South. Another would have been the range of traits employed to fix one's position in the social order. In multi-ethnic Chicago, as opposed to the bi-racial community of Chapel Hill, the spatial ecology or the role of environment upon access to environmental resources should have been expected to manifest only minimal similarity. A concept such as neighborhood tipping (Grodzins, 1958), which has sometimes been employed to describe the process of racial neighborhood succession, originated in the former environment and not in the latter because the spatial organization differed between the two. To assist in assessing the state of the art in ecological and demographic school desegregation research, we are attempting to establish an ecological basis for the phenomenon under review.

The ecological basis for school desegregation in a two-region nation might be graphically illustrated in the following way. In Region A, designated the South, the black community's spatial position within the larger community is illustrated along with the schools attended by black children. Likewise, the white community and its schools are also shown. For the purpose of illustration, Region A is assumed to be a two-population region, white and black. Therefore, each community will include an assemblage of white and black communities. In Figure 1A below, we have placed each group's schools within their respective communities, illustrating that school spatial arrangement is unrelated to the racial makeup of attendance areas. In two instances white and black schools are located in close proximity, but this has no bearing on school racial composition.

The above illustration provides an example of the social organization of space wherein individuals (on the basis of race) are not allowed to attend schools specifically designated for members of the other race. The individual schools in the diagrams represent resources. Until the early post-Brown era, both the physical and programmatic features of schools designated as black left much to be desired. In this situation the schools were truly segregated as the state acted to deny blacks access to a set of superior resources, and as such promulgated inequity through its discriminatory behavior.

In Region B, where most blacks were concentrated in a selected set of the nation's largest urban centers, group socio-spatial organization differed from that in Region A. Those differences were manifested in an environment segmented in both social class and ethnic terms. Thus one's position in the socio-spatial environment was thought to be strongly associated with the time of arrival in the urban milieu. It was by observing the competition between population groups in this setting that traditional ecological theory was derived. But how does this relate to our school desegregation problem? We will attempt to highlight that relationship graphically just as we did in Figure 1A.

In Figure 1B an idealized segment of urban space in Region B has been selected to illustrate the spatial organization of schools and its consequences for racial concentration. One primary difference between the regional school ecologies is that in Region B it is possible to have all-black schools, non-black schools, and mixed schools as a function of both grade level and size of the black community. Because elementary school boundaries are crucial in determining school assignments, they have been superimposed on this figure. These micro districts take on primary importance in establishing school racial composition as the neighborhood organization of schools is considered to represent the norm in the ecological organization of schools in Region B.

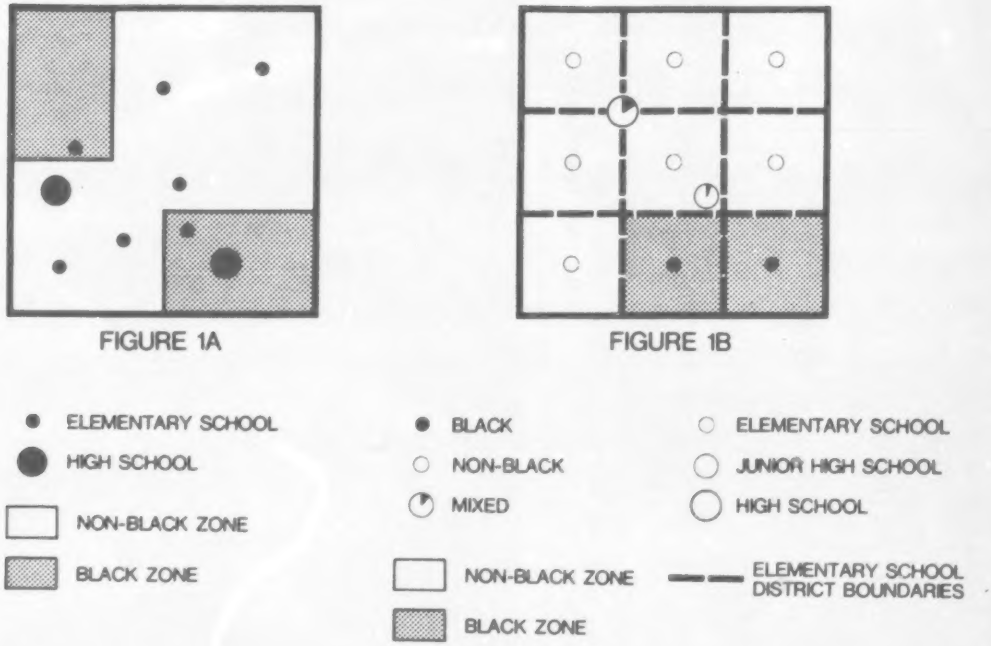


FIGURE 1A

FIGURE 1B

● ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
● HIGH SCHOOL
NON-BLACK ZONE
BLACK ZONE
● BLACK
○ NON-BLACK
MIXED
○ ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
○ JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL
○ HIGH SCHOOL
NON-BLACK ZONE
BLACK ZONE
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL DISTRICT BOUNDARIES

Figure 1: Ecological Basis for School Desegregation in Two Regions

WHEN IS SEGREGATION REALLY SEGREGATION?

Under such an arrangement, diverse racial compositions are possible as a result of the demographic history of a specific place. Needless to say, this process has allowed many schools to become predominantly black, thus leading the U.S. Civil Rights Commission (as noted above) to comment on the level of racial isolation in the nation's schools during the mid-1960's. At the same time, these two spatial models of the ecological organization of educational resources have made it difficult for ecologists to provide answers to one of our questions: How extensively are the public schools segregated on the basis of race? Until we answer that, we cannot answer questions pertaining to the magnitude of desegregation.

CAN ECOLOGY ASSIST US IN DEFINING SEGREGATION?

Ecological research has provided only limited assistance in answering the above question. This shortcoming is inextricably tied to language distinctions in academic use (as opposed to legal use) and to limited explicit attention to the manipulation of school district boundaries as a means of influencing a school district's racial composition. In the first instance, ecologists employ the term segregation to measure the extent of racial concentration in residential settings. Both the terminology and the methodology used to measure this phenomenon have been transferred intact to the school desegregation research arena. Yet as we attempted to show in Figures 1A and 1B, the ecological organization of schools differs on the basis of region, such that using the term "segregation" to describe similar phenomena is not interpreted in the same fashion throughout the legal community or segments of the lay community.

In lay usage, the term "segregation" as employed in relation to the current school controversy is somewhat ambiguous, but it is precise in legal use. The latter use refers to any intentional act designed to deny access to specific schools on the basis of race. In Region B in the previous example, evidence of the intentional denial of access on the basis of race is not easily established, as such action would conflict with both state and federal law. Therefore, ecological research, which illustrates a high level of racial isolation in that region's schools, refers to an ecologically different phenomenon than that prevailing in Region A, at least prior to 1954. The failure of ecological research to illustrate the impact of local school board actions on the level of racial isolation adds to the difficulty of specifying the extent to which schools in Region 3 are segregated and thus require action to desegregate them.

A MICROSPATIAL APPROACH TO ECOLOGICAL SEGREGATION

One weakness of ecological research in attempting to clarify the desegregation issue is that some puzzle pieces have been missing as traditional ecological analysis (as conducted by sociologists) is only implicitly concerned with spatial interaction patterns. Geographers, on the other hand, for whom this represents a focal concern, have essentially chosen to ignore this issue because it has not been viewed as falling within their discipline's traditional boundaries. More recently, however, ecologically oriented sociologists and an emerging group of social geographers have begun to rationalize and integrate their common concerns. Perhaps nowhere is this better illustrated in a recent book co-authored by Berry, a geographer, and Kasarda, a sociologist. The rationale provided for joint development of "contemporary urban ecology" is as follows. "Both human ecologists and urban geographers have become more aware of the limitations of their own approaches, and there appears to be an emerging inter-disciplinary agreement that there is a continuing--indeed, growing--need for enriched studies that span disciplinary and subdisciplinary concerns for understanding social and spatial organization" (Berry and Kasarda, 1977). The foregoing statement is clearly evident in the school case, as micro-scale spatial analysis has often been missing, with emphasis on macro-scale changes that maintain a social system characterized by racial concentration.

Going back to the previous illustration of spatial organization of educational resources in Region B, at least at the central-city level, we will attempt to show how one of the missing puzzle pieces confounds our ability to distinguish between racial concentration in the public schools and racial segregation. In this instance, the former implies an absence of official interference in effecting the racial composition of public schools, whereas the latter acknowledges such interference. What has often been overlooked in Region B is the impact of school board decisions to alter school district boundaries on the racial composition of a given school at some specific point in time. Since school board members establish school operating policies and represent identifiable constituencies, at least when elected, their actions can be expected to reflect the perceived taste of their constituencies. This point is more strongly confirmed by viewing the outcome of heated school board elections centering on attempts to provide racial balance in the schools. Rubin's (1972) account of the behavior of elected officials in Richmond, California is instructive and does much to highlight the issue.

To illustrate the impact of board-approved boundary changes, we will employ a hypothetical two-school example. In Region B, where racial succession under conditions of black population growth results in the physical expansion of the black community and concomitantly in a change in school racial composition, action might be taken to slow the latter process. Such action would be premised on the welfare of white students in an environment where the school board is dominated by white office holders, although the inverse of this situation might prevail if the board were dominated by blacks, e.g., demands for community control. The two-school example will be graphically illustrated in Figures 2A and 2B.

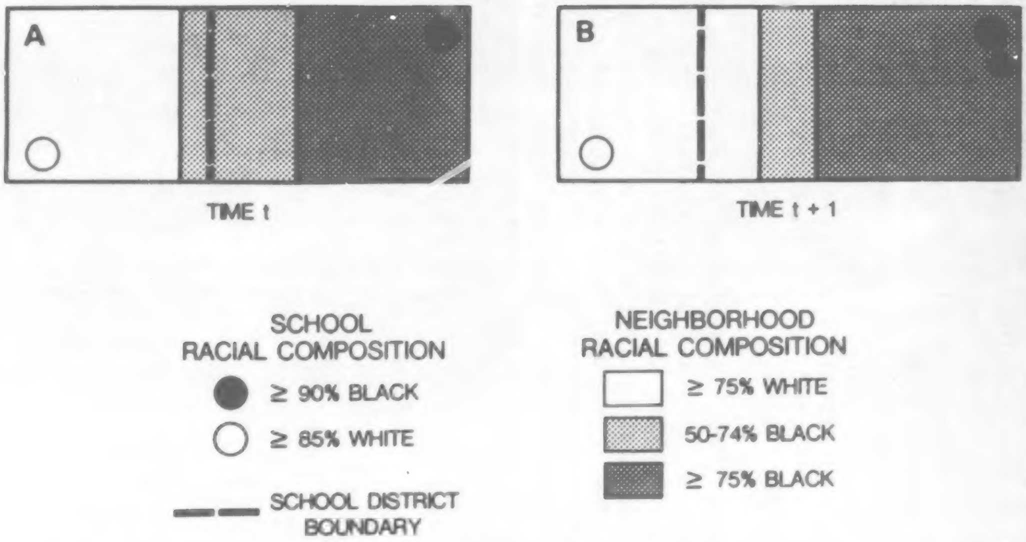

A
B
TIME t
TIME t + 1
SCHOOL RACIAL COMPOSITION
≥ 90% BLACK
≥ 85% WHITE
SCHOOL DISTRICT BOUNDARY
NEIGHBORHOOD RACIAL COMPOSITION
≥ 75% WHITE
50-74% BLACK
≥ 75% BLACK

Figure 2: The Effect of a School Boundary Shift on School Racial Composition

School planners have among their tasks projecting future enrollments and recommending school sites. Thus planners can provide board members with the necessary information on which to base decisions. We can reasonably conclude that board members understand, at least, the partial effect of their boundary change decision on the racial makeup of schools in our two-school example.

Let us assume that at time t, school A in our two-school example is greater than 90 percent black, while the adjacent school B is less than 15 percent black. But the black population in school A's neighborhood is growing rapidly, and there is already evidence that the succession process has advanced beyond the boundary separating the two neighborhood school zones (see Figure 2A). The board is confronted with two problems: (1) to make adequate classroom space available in order to absorb the rapidly growing black enrollment, and (2) to act in ways that will lessen white leaving-rates or protect white preferences.

To satisfy these twin goals, the board approved a westward shift in the boundary separating school A from school B beyond those blocks where black occupancy was becoming intensive (see Figure 2B). At the same time the board approved building additional classrooms onto school A. Because the size of the neighborhood school zone was expanded and because rooms were added to the physical facility itself, school A could now absorb the increasing black density. This action would provide temporary relief to those concerned with the changing racial composition of School B. At time t + 1, whites continued to represent the dominant population in the latter school. The point is, however, that an official decision was made which could be described as discrimination (and therefore as promoting a condition of segregation) instead of one of simple simple racial concentration. Needless to say, decisions of this sort simply delay the succession process in the schools. Their incremental effect, however, is difficult to disentangle, leading scholars to assume the existing pattern is totally an outgrowth of residential choice over which boards of education have no control.

THE ECOLOGY OF RACIAL INTERACTION AND SCHOOL DESEGREGATION RESEARCH

Descriptions of the above type seldom show up in the ecological literature describing school racial succession, because sociologists who conduct most of the research do not focus on the spatial organization of individual schools in the system. Wegmann's (1975) work represents an exception as he has attempted to account for racial change over time in what he identifies as a set of individual schools in the process of racial transition in Milwaukee. He does not, however, devote any attention to the role of boundary change, tending to focus most of his attention on school open-enrollment policies and their effect on racial tipping. But if Downs (1968) is correct with regard to the role of dominance on white environmental behavior as it relates to the sharing of social space, then the aforementioned behavior should be expected, if not constrained, by the action of those at higher levels in the hierarchy. Furthermore, the two-school example cited above was abstracted from an actual situation.

Downs insists that a cultural dominance law governs the sharing of social space. From the perspective of our interest in both the issue of school desegregation and the issue of ecological school desegregation research, it might prove instructive to quote from Downs (1968) on this matter. "The achievement of stable racial integration of both whites and non-whites in housing or public schools is a rare phenomenon in large American cities. Contrary to the views of many, this is not because whites are unwilling to share schools or residential neighborhoods with non-whites. A vast majority of whites of all income groups would be willing to send their children to integrated schools or live in integrated neighborhoods, as long as they were sure that the white group concerned would remain in the majority in those facilities or areas."

The question then becomes the following: how valid is Downs' assertion, and if valid how does it manifest itself in school desegregation research? Does it influence the nature of the social-science models designed to explain this behavior, and does it influence the policy prescriptions advocated by individual social scientists? We suspect that it does, but it is not always clear in which direction.

Berry (1979) recently attempted to clarify the foregoing issue by ascertaining the extent to which persons occupying residential communities perceive the entry of black households to represent a threat, and what coping strategies they choose in attempting to confront the threat. The findings based on his Chicago research should permit the development of more sophisticated models of the ecological succession process by improving our ability to specify a response at the micro level, while at the same time being able to anticipate the coping behaviors selected by individual subcommunities. One community (Goodwin, 1979) or sub-community (Molotch, 1969) may choose to pursue a course of integration management; another may choose a set of defensive tactics designed to prevent entry as was true in Chicago's West Englewood community (Berry, 1979). Berry's work, however, takes us beyond simply denoting the role of dominance, and suggests a format for evaluating how persons occupying specific ecological niches, differentiated in terms of ethnicity and socioeconomic status, might be expected to respond to the threat of altering the racial character of the environment.

In this section of the paper, by denoting differences in the regional pattern of status allocation, we have tried to establish the socio-spatial context in which desegregation is often attempted. But beyond that we have tried to clarify the ecological and legal distinctions employed in defining segregation. In some ways this may appear trivial, but it is important to those concerned with desegregation as a public policy issue. It is unlikely, however, that these distinctions can be easily rationalized as they reflect divergent perspectives with regard to the concept of segregation.

On the one hand, segregation is viewed simply as a spatial clustering phenomenon, while on the other it refers to a willful act designed to separate objects in space. Therefore, school desegregation researchers must first be able to specify the magnitude of clustering before moving to the next stage, which is to determine if the observed clustering is intentional (endogenously derived) or directed (exogenously derived). The extent to which ecological research can successfully address the latter will determine how well it will be able to provide answers to three questions (cited above) regarding the potential, extent, and impact of desegregation.

POTENTIAL FOR DESEGREGATION

To address these issues more fully, the role of ecological context--which is often passively viewed--should be scrutinized more. Population change within microspatial units) i.e., the changing demography of the neighborhood or community) sets the stage for school districts to take on one set of population characteristics or another. The motivation for, and definition of, these changes have an impact on the character of school desegregation research.

THE ROLE OF RESEARCHER VALUES

On a final note, one should point out that not only do different disciplinary perspectives influence the nature and direction of school desegregation research, but so do the researchers' norms and values. This is often an ignored but crucial variable in public issue research. Scholars, like all other individuals, have their own views influenced by socialization, as well as by their position in society. The impact of these experiences often leads to what Rist (1978) identified as the social construction of reality. This problem is further highlighted by Wilson (1973), whose remarks are more race-relations directed when he says, "Blacks and whites of the general public tend to view American race relations 'through different eyes,' but it is likewise true that within each racial group perceptions vary according to income, occupation, education, and place of residence." These different perceptions are quite essential in assisting us to understand the nature and direction of aspects of the emerging body of ecological and demographic school desegregation research.

THE CHANGING DEMOGRAPHY OF MINORITY POPULATIONS

The changing distribution of the American population, resulting from both altered patterns of inter-regional migration and intra-urban movement, has done much to set the stage for the conduct of school desegregation research. Demographers have manifested an ongoing interest in patterns of subgroup demographic behavior (Farley, 1970; Bean and Frisbie, 1978; Jaffe et al., 1980) and thus are in the process of continually monitoring these patterns. What these patterns reveal is that white populations during the last three decades have been engaged in a process of urban deconcentration and resulting redistribution to suburban America, while large central cities have become targets of black and selected other new immigrant migration. School districts throughout the nation reflect these demographic changes, but in selected instances districts have been accused of acting in ways designed to promote racially and ethnically homogeneous schools. These accusations, at least in school districts outside the South, have done much to fuel the school desegregation controversy.

The foregoing controversy has been further fueled by the contrasting response of individual minority groups to neighborhood residential concentration and their view of the school's role in meeting their educational needs. For instance, these contrasting perspectives sometimes lead blacks and Hispanics to be on opposite sides of the issue in school desegregation court cases, e.g., plaintiff versus intervener. This indicates the growing complexity of the issue; school desegregation currently involves more groups than when the issue was viewed simply as a Southern problem.

To minimize discriminatory acts of a majority population against a minority population, a protected class has been designated. Although this protected class had its origins in attempts to overcome job discrimination (Anderson and Cottingham, 1981), representatives of minority populations are at times involved in school desegregation attempts. Thus, multi-ethnic urban populations characterized by varying levels of ecological segregation have been drawn into the controversy. The role of other minorities in desegregation research has received only limited attention but could play a crucial role in the future, based on the level of ecological segregation that characterizes their distribution in an urban environment. In 1980, for instance, student enrollment in the Los Angeles Unified School District was as follows: Hispanics, 47 percent; blacks, 24 percent; whites, 23 percent; and others, 6 percent. In Los Angeles one might ask which is most appropriate--the race or ethnic model--to attempt to unravel the ecological segregation issue.

Although we have denoted the growing demographic complexity associated with ongoing alterations in ethnic diversity that tend to compound the desegregation issue, the limited research devoted to this issue to date will not permit us to evaluate systematically its contribution to a better understanding of the issue. The great bulk of research is devoted to white-black conduct patterns, on both a macro and micro scale, leading to ecological segregation and the corresponding impact of these interaction patterns on both the potential for and involvement in school desegregation. To illustrate the role of demographic context in which this issue has evolved, we will briefly summarize the changing demographic distribution of the nation's black population. This description will draw heavily from the works of individuals engaged in school desegregation research.

RECENT CHANGES IN THE NATION'S BLACK POPULATION

By 1970, almost one-half (47 percent) of the nation's black population resided outside the South--beyond the assumed geographic scope of Brown. The continued migration of blacks from the South in large numbers, in each decade from 1940-70, resulted in large black communities, mostly in the central cities of the Northeast and North Central states, and to a lesser extent in the West. At the end of the first decade following World War II, none of the region's larger central cities was yet 20 percent black; most were approximately only one-sixth black. But twenty years later, most of these same cities had more than doubled the percentage of blacks in the population. During a thirty-year period, the black population growth in these cities was essentially channeled into race-specific residential enclaves that were only slightly less segregated from the white population than were similar enclaves which had developed in the South. The process, however, leading to this spatial pattern differed between regions.

This point might easily be illustrated by observing population in the Northeast and North Central states during the specified period. The thirteen cities shown in Table 1 were the place of residence of one-half of the black population residing outside the South and of almost one-fourth of the nation's black population. Yet, the changes taking place in these cities were to establish the basis for an attack on school desegregation in a context in which Brown was not thought to be valid.

THE CHANGING DEMOGRAPHY OF NORTHERN CITIES

Each of the above cities lost population during the sixties. Accelerated white movement to the suburbs that exceeded the volume of black movement into the cities, despite higher levels of black fertility, was responsible for the decline and corresponding change in each city's racial composition (Long, 1975). Nevertheless, the size of the black school-age population increased more rapidly than the black population in general, and in a number of these cities blacks were the majority school population. In 1973 in Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, and Cleveland, blacks constituted 57.9, 61.3, 70.1, and 57.4 percent of total enrollment respectively (Edelman, 1975).

Both growth and rearrangement of the population within the city strongly influenced attempts to desegregate the nation's schools in the next stage of desegregation history. In the earlier stage almost all effort was devoted to eliminating dual school systems and establishing a unitary system. Demographically, the problem was less intractable than that which was to emerge later. Black concentration in large Southern cities also posed a problem in attempting to promote desegregated schools. But in small towns and rural districts, that problem was less evident.

Table 1. Changes in the Racial Composition of the Population in Large Northeast and North Central Cities, 1950-1970

City	Black Pop. in 1970	% Black 1950	% Black 1970	Growth Rate 1960-70
Boston	104,000	5.0%	16.3%	6.6%
New York	1,666,000	9.7%	22.6%	5.3%
Newark	207,000	17.0%	54.2%	4.9%
Philadelphia	670,000	18.1%	33.6%	2.4%
Pittsburgh	100,000	12.2%	20.2%	0.4%
Cleveland	287,000	16.2%	38.3%	1.5%
Cincinnati	125,000	15.5%	27.6%	1.5%
Buffalo	94,000	6.3%	20.4%	3.3%
Detroit	667,000	16.2%	43.6%	3.7%
Chicago	1,102,000	13.9%	32.8%	3.6%
Indianapolis	134,000	15.0%	18.0%	3.4%
Milwaukee	105,000	3.4%	14.7%	6.8%
St. Louis	254,000	17.9%	40.9%	1.5%

Source: U.S. Census, *General Characteristics of the Population*, 1950, 1960, and 1970

URBAN STRUCTURE AND POPULATION CONCENTRATION

In previous sections of this paper, the ecological research tradition was drawn into focus, and the nature of the issues associated with that tradition was highlighted. We especially wished to illustrate the central role of the environment and the ecological processes operating within individual macro- and micro-spatial structures that result in ecological population concentration, which is defined as segregation. Since population concentration is at the heart of the school desegregation issue, it is assumed that ecologists might provide more insight into both the nature of the problem and its resolution.

Certainly, there are differences between traditional ecological research and ecological research into school-desegregation issues. One important difference was recently stated: "The social structure to which urban ecology traditionally has been attentive is apolitical" (Shlay and Rossi, 1981). On reviewing some of the more recent contributions to the ecological literature, these writers find that this omission represents a weakness in attempting to explain patterns of contemporary urban structure. It is clear, however, that both passive and active political orientations present themselves in ecologically-oriented school desegregation research.

In the following sections we will place greater emphasis on the role of the demographic component of this research orientation, as a means of assessing the effectiveness of this methodological approach in providing answers to the questions posed earlier. However, the environmental context, which serves as the stage on which the desegregation drama is played out, is influenced by a changing demography. Our ability to assemble and transfer general demographic techniques to school-related issues within this context will obviously influence our ability to sharpen the focus. Therefore, this section of the paper will attempt to demonstrate how well the standard demographic/ecological approaches help to clarify the issues. Moreover, it will be imperative for us not to lose sight of either the ecological scale of the analysis (i.e., regional versus metropolitan or city versus suburban) or the particularistic views associated with individual disciplines and/or scholars. We believe those views influence one's interest in the issues as well as one's philosophical stance regarding solution.

On a final note it should be pointed out that we have chosen to employ the intentional/unintentional dichotomy as the structural framework for our assessment. We assume this will permit us broad leeway in approaching the task and at the same time demonstrate how well social-science research aids us in addressing public policy issues. This represents a trend that has been developing in the social sciences for almost a generation. In line with this position Grant (1973) makes the following statement: "The Coleman Report is a landmark in the history of social science for many reasons, not the least because it signaled a new relationship between social research and social policy." Along these same lines, Stipak (1980) states, "Nonetheless, empirical policy analysis can often contribute relevant information to the policy debate. Although obfuscated by the emotion and controversy that frequently surround such policies, policies affecting social context pose common analytical issues for empirical analysis." The nature of the subject matter and our approach to it dictate our choice of a structural framework.

EXTENT OF DESEGREGATION

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION RESEARCH: THE ROLE OF DEMOGRAPHERS AND ECOLOGISTS

Demographers and ecologists were somewhat slow in initiating research on school desegregation issues. Although Hauser (1965) in the mid-1960s attempted to demonstrate the importance of demography for promoting racial integration, apparently little work had been done to show its applicability to issues of this type. In this regard, Hauser (1965) states, "The precise way in which these demographic factors affect integration, positively or negatively, is not definitely known." Likewise, until the late 1960s ecologists did not have easy access to the kind of data they normally employed. Since both of these approaches depend heavily on empirical data, their late entry into school desegregation research is understandable. Secondarily, the scale of desegregation prior to the seventies and its initial confinement to the South were further drawbacks.

Until the desegregation issue moved north and racial balance became the central measure for desegregation, it was unlikely that school desegregation would become an important research area for ecologists and demographers. The issue of de facto school desegregation, however, could be viewed as a special case of residential segregation, a topic on which both groups had done extensive work. Thus, once school-district data were available detailing the racial mix of all units in the system, research similar to that addressing itself to racial residential segregation could proceed.

The Residential Segregation/School Desegregation Research Link

Farley, an ecologically-oriented demographer, reported in 1973 that the potential for school desegregation was related to black access to housing throughout metropolitan areas. It was apparent, given the demographic changes that were occurring in central cities (e.g., white population loss) and the corresponding growth of this population in suburban districts, that this was leading to higher levels of racial isolation. Farley, like Taeuber and Taeuber several years before, demonstrated that black residential patterns could not be explained away simply on the basis of income. To illustrate this, he assembled data describing the actual and expected number of black families that should have been present in 26 Detroit suburbs in 1970, based simply on income. The actual proportion of black families in these suburban communities was 3.5 percent, whereas the expected value was 15.7 percent

(Hermalin and Farley, 1973). Thus Hermalin and Farley attempted to clarify that the limited number of blacks in Detroit suburbs could not be largely explained in terms of income.

Clearly, if school desegregation was going to occur in the North, either blacks would have to be granted access to suburban housing or a reversal of the direction of white families with children would be required to alter the growing inter-district problem. Thus the initial response of demographic analysts to this issue was more directly tied to the question of residential access than to the issue of school desegregation per se. This research focused on the very real problem of population concentration within districts. If there was only a limited flow of population between districts, the potential for desegregation within a metropolitan context would be limited. Numerous writers have since addressed themselves to that problem (Epps, 1978; Taeuber, 1978; Henderson and Von Euler, 1978).

The Availability of School Racial Headcount Data

With the advent of national racial headcount data describing the racial makeup of the individual public school districts, it was possible for the first time to specify not only enrollment trends but also the extent to which blacks and whites attended a given school district. The availability of this information provided a bookkeeping system that facilitated measuring change in the racial composition of school systems, as well as the extent to which these school populations were racially concentrated. Farley and Taeuber (1974) provided the first assessment of the states of school desegregation in the nation's urban schools. Utilizing data from 60 of the largest school districts in the nation, all of which were central-city districts, they presented evidence showing the extent of both student and staff segregation and the number of students that would have to be transferred to attain racial balance.

There was no mention in this study of the between-district problem, but Farley and Taeuber extended the scope of their analysis to include both teachers and staff. In the fall of 1967, large urban districts in the South had a student segregation index of 87; large Northern districts maintained a score of 74. This indicates black and white students in both regions most often attended schools where their race predominated. Thus ecologically-oriented demographers initially assessed the state of urban school desegregation on the basis of racial headcount data. The availability of this data base has allowed researchers to monitor continuously the process of the changes in intensity of school racial concentration. But has it permitted us to answer questions related to the extent of school segregation or to address the issue of desegregation potential?

School headcount data allow researchers to demonstrate who goes to school with whom; that is, those data permit us to measure changes over time in racial concentration within school districts, but they do not allow us to determine the level of segregation in other than a heuristic way. Nevertheless, these data can be used as a starting point in attempting to unravel the intentional/ unintentional dichotomy in school districts where state action did not directly undergird the existing pattern. Likewise, these data can be preliminarily employed to aid in assessing desegregation potential. But it is the cultural superstructure that serves as the intervening variable by directing the way school districts are spatially organized. Moreover, this organizational schema is partially responsible for the level of segregation recorded at one level of analysis. At another level, however, the behavioral propensities of competing groups lead some school districts to be more or less attractive than others. Ignoring these realities will make it difficult for the products of ecological and demographic research to be employed effectively in the public policy debate.

Foster (1973) indicates that by 1972 the largest school districts in the country (15 percent or more black students enrolled) were in various stages of the desegregation process. Progress was thought to be associated with the district size, the district location, and the district's percentage of black students. Apparently, Foster's measure of progress toward desegregation is simply the reduction in percentage of black students enrolled in school districts that were majority black. Most measures of progress toward desegregation embrace this concept, regardless of their simplicity or complexity. But implicit in Foster's criteria for choosing districts to be examined is that districts containing few or no black students would be excluded since in the lay sense the districts were not viewed as segregated.

Foster's assessment of the progress in desegregating schools ignores the intentional and unintentional dichotomy, although he does not ignore the regional context in which these two structural variates are known to be important. Thus it is quite possible to specify the level of school district racial deconcentration as a result of the recent availability of school head-count data. But the more difficult question associated with intent versus non-intent cannot be readily assessed simply as a result of the availability of this data source.

Differing Researcher Orientations

During the 1970s Farley and his colleagues at the University of Michigan (1970, 1974, 1975, and 1978) and Taeuber and his colleagues at the University of Wisconsin (1978, 1979a, 1979b, and 1981) appear to have been more actively involved in demographic research related to school desegregation problems than were any other groups. One has to be careful here not to overstate the case; but if one considers the nature of the research genre most often thought to represent ecological-demographic analysis, then it appears the statement is valid. Yet, with both of these research groups, there is a strong continuing linkage between school desegregation research and residential segregation research.

Employing data that span a period just short of a decade, the foregoing--as well as other researchers--have demonstrated that the problem is complex, that the direction of change has been inconsistent, and that the methodological tools employed are sometimes inadequate for the task involved. One could add that the goals of researchers engaged in this type of research are often in conflict, as they are designed to support one policy position or another. The latter problem is often magnified when researchers become paid consultants who defend the interest of one party or another. In regard to the latter, Taeuber (1979) said, "Within the adversarial context of a trial, as well in the arena of public policy debate, it seems to be true that for each and every Ph.D. there is an equal and opposite Ph.D." There is a possible feedback to the disciplines, however, in the form of technique refinement that grows out of researcher competition aimed at piling up policy-relevant points.

MEASURES OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Indices of Segregation

The tools employed by those engaged in ecological and demographic school desegregation research are often the same as those used by researchers engaged in residential segregation research. The standard tool that has emerged in these studies is the index of dissimilarity (D), which is used most extensively by sociologists, but is also used by others. It is an easily derived summary index describing the extent to which two populations are spatially dispersed. An index of 0 would indicate total dispersion; a score of 100 would indicate total concentration. Thus where dual school systems were maintained, an index score of 100 would describe the school attendance patterns of white and black pupils. The index of dissimilarity allows one to specify the direction and magnitude of change in the intensity of segregation over time, and from that vantage point there is much to recommend it.

But the dissimilarity index also has numerous disadvantages. Among them are its insensitivity to school racial composition and its inability to treat segregation of more than two groups at the same time. Clotfelter (1978) suggests that whites are likely to indicate differential sensitivity to desegregated schools based on their actual racial composition, and thus the index of dissimilarity is not a good measure on which to base anticipated white response. Another complicating factor is the current multi-ethnic mix in some of the nation's school districts. Although the school desegregation issue originally involved white and black populations, it now extends to other identifiable minority groups. Thus in selected instances, desegregation attempts might involve Hispanic, Asian, and Native American populations. Where a given district is multi-ethnic, a series of indices would be required to deduce the extent to which members of each group would be required to relocate in order to facilitate a desegregated system.

The index of dissimilarity (D), moreover, is just one of several indices of this general type used in desegregation research. The index of segregation (S) has been employed by some scholars engaged in school desegregation research. Recently, Zoloth (1975) compared these two leading indices, and she indicated how their statistical properties differ. For instance, the index of disimilarity (D) simply specifies the absolute deviation of minority pupils within individual school zones from their overall percent enrollment in the district. The index of segregation, on the other hand, is a non-linear measure of mean-squared deviation from the district's minority ratio. Although the two indices produce similar results when applied to the same distribution, they will not produce identical results. According to Zoloth, the segregation index (S) will generally produce a somewhat lower score.

A quick review of a set of derived scores based on racial headcount data in a common set of school districts verifies Zoloth's statement that scores derived through using the index of segregation are lower. The scores illustrated in Table 2 were derived by Taeuber et al. (1981) and Coleman (1976), who employed the index of dissimilarity (D) and the segregation index (S) respectively. In each instance the score derived through using S is several points lower than that derived through using D. Using different indices, one can project various impressions, especially when they are used to measure change over time. Nevertheless, Zoloth prefers using S rather than D to evaluate school segregation levels. Her preference for S is based on its diminishing marginal payoff to desegregation and on its dependence on the entire distribution of students across schools. Finally, she indicates S can be interpreted as a measure of association between school assignment and race.

Since the index of dissimilarity represents a standard methodological tool employed by ecologically-oriented demographers in residential segregation research, its widespread use as a measure of segregation in school desegregation research could be expected. Its simplicity and ease of computation have favored its continued use, but critics persist in pointing out serious weaknesses associated with its use from a behavioral perspective. This is especially true of those engaged in "white flight" research (Clotfelter, 1978). The most serious weaknesses of the index of dissimilarity are associated with its expectation of evenness to represent the opposite of segregation, the effect of the number of households in each areal unit, and the noise created by different minority proportions between districts (Cortese et al., 1976).

Needless to say, not all demographic research related to school desegregation is conducted by persons who have simply shifted their emphasis from residential segregation patterns to school segregation patterns. To the extent the latter is true, a preference for other measures of segregation is likely to exist. As segregation measures, D and S are strongly associated with the researcher's background and prior research interest. This point was recently raised by Kantrowitz (1980), who thinks D has been elevated to a position of social convention because a large body of research has been created around it.

Table 2: A Comparison of the Level of Racial Concentration in Selected Southern and Non-Southern School Districts, 1948

Southern School Districts	Index of Dissimilarity	Index of Segregation	Non-Southern School Districts	Index of Dissimilarity	Index of Segregation
Houston	92	89	New York	64	47
Dallas	94	91	Los Angeles	90	86
Atlanta	91	85	Chicago	90	86
New Orleans	83	72	Detroit	77	66
Tampa	83	78	Milwaukee	85	76

Sources: Tauber et al., 1981; Coleman and Kelly, 1976

He and others have demonstrated that these measures fail to address actual spatial patterns of ecological change. Because of this, Kantrowitz has become extremely critical of using D as a measure of ethnic segregation.

Although indices of the form previously discussed provide evidence of the intensity of racial isolation, they fail to indicate the potential for racial interaction. It is possible for two school districts to manifest common levels of racial segregation (as measured by D or S) but quite different levels of interaction potential. The former are not influenced by the racial composition of individual districts, but the latter are. For this reason, some analysts favor using a measure sensitive to the racial composition of individual school districts.

As can be observed from Table 3, schools possessing similar levels of racial balance can have quite different racial compositions. Less than four points separate the six cities below, in terms of the index of dissimilarity, whereas racial composition varies by almost 60 points. The latter difference is thought to have the greatest impact upon racial interaction potential. To confront this problem, Coleman advocated the use of exposure rates.

The Use of Exposure Rates as an Index of Interaction Potential

One might assume that researchers concerned with how school racial composition affects the decision to move or stay would seek alternatives to the previously discussed indices of segregation. Demographically-oriented social scientists without ties to the ecological tradition or residential segregation research seem more likely to favor using exposure rates. Also, Lieberson's strong support for asymmetrical measures would seem to represent a moving away from total dependence on symmetrical measures by ecologically-oriented researchers. But in part this simply indicates need for a more sensitive index to be used in demonstrating a behavioral response to a school's racial composition. On this issue, Coleman (1976) specifically states, "For a school system, a statistical measure directly relevant to the question of school segregation is the proportion of white children in the same school with the 'average' black child." Clotfelter (1976a) supports this position, but he is aware it does not lend itself readily to econometric analysis, a standard approach employed by many economists.

Exposure rates are used to measure percent white in the average black child's school and the percent black in the average white child's school. These rates are often expressed in the following format.

Table 3: Racial Composition of Selected Schools Characterized by Similar Levels of Racial Isolation, 1976

School District	Index of Dissimilarity	Percent Black
Oakland	68.0	80.4
Dade County	64.3	40.5
Baltimore	67.6	77.0
Detroit	63.2	81.0
Akron	64.1	31.6
Seattle	64.7	21.0

Source: Taeuber et al., 1981

Black Exposure to Whites

$$BX = \frac{1}{B} \sum_{i=1}^{n} B_i \frac{W_i}{T_i}$$

White Exposure to Blacks

$$WX = \frac{1}{W} \sum_{i=1}^{n} W_i \frac{B_i}{T_i}$$

The results are greatly influenced by the racial composition of the school district. This can be illustrated from data in Table 3. In 1976, both Detroit and Seattle manifested similar levels of racial balance; but Detroit's schools were 81.0 percent black, while Seattle's were only 21.0 percent black. The differences in potential for racial interaction in these two school systems were very great. In Detroit, the average black student attended a school that was 10.8 percent white, and the average white student was enrolled in a school that was 44.3 percent black. This situation was reversed in Seattle, where the average black student attended a school that was 46.9 percent white, and the average white child attended a school that was 12.5 percent black. These results are consistent with Lieberson's (1981) position that interaction potential is greater in cities with relatively few blacks. On the grounds that there exists a need for measures that are compositionally sensitive, Lieberson--previously an extensive user of the symmetric measure D--now favors using asymmetric measures in studying segregation.

The value of these measures raises some interesting points in relationship to school desegregation as a conceptual issue. For those who view school desegregation efforts simply as an attempt to minimize racial imbalance, then the previous indices of segregation can provide one with a measure of how well that task is being performed. On the other hand, if school desegregation between races or ethnic groups, then measures of the type represented by exposure rates seem desirable. Clearly, neither addresses itself to both the racial balance issue and the interaction potential issue simultaneously. Interest in the latter measure, however, seems to reflect an interest in specifying the anticipated white response to varying percentages of black children in the average white child's school. Thus the latter measures appear to have emerged in association with heightened researcher interest in the white flight phenomenon.

As indicated previously, the family of measures described as indices of segregation or concentration are insensitive to the school district's racial composition, instead reflecting the degree of departure from the district's mean minority enrollment percentages. The question can be validly raised as to which of these systems has incurred the most desegregation. Employing a segregation index, one could determine there is no difference in the extent of desegregation between the two. Yet from our previous discussion of these two districts, one would conclude from the use of exposure rates that Seattle's schools offer the greater cross-race interaction potential.

Measures of School Segregation and the Art of Inquiry

The state of the art of inquiry relative to the status of school segregation was not highly developed prior to the acceleration of interest in this problem. Such measures as the percent of students of one race attending school with students of another race, as well as the simple summary indices describing the extent to which two populations vary in their ecological distribution around their aggregate mean distribution in the population, defined the state of the art at the beginning of the period. As the school desegregation issue took on added importance and conflict began to mount, school desegregation researchers started to search for definitional measures thought to more precisely define the problem. Exposure rates represent one such additional measure. They, however, define a different aspect of segregation and may be more important in providing insight into an understanding of potential for desegregation than in specifying the level of segregation. Nevertheless, these kinds of measures are most often employed to specify the state of segregation at any given point in time.

The foregoing measures simply describe a time-bound end state. They do not purport to address the issue of how this state evolved. Thus the intentional/unintentional aspect of the problem can hardly be addressed through using these measures since they simply demonstrate the extent to which groups are concentrated within a given bounded system, with the level of concentration itself being strongly influenced by the dimension of bounded space.

Many technical arguments that have emerged in association with efforts to reduce the level of concentration revolve around group preference for clustering and boundary manipulation, e.g., gerrymandering, as a means of catering to group preferences. Since these measures are outcome measures that tend to ignore the spatial dimensions of the process, they can only address the segregation issue on a mechanical level. Even then these measures do not define the problem of clustering. This indicates that the unique problems associated with school desegregation will require measures other than a set of general segregation indices to clarify the issues constituting an integral part of the public policy debate. More recent work in this area, e.g., exposure rates, is moving in this direction.

On the question of potential for desegregation, the problem is even more complicated. This requires more robust explanations of the role of race, class, and ethnicity upon the tendency toward clustering and the expected interactions between these variables than existed during the base period, i.e., prior to 1970. The state of the art of inquiry in this area is being enhanced by the more recent work of sociologists, geographers, and economists (Taeuber, 1978; Wilson, 1979; Farley, 1977; Clotfelter, 1978; Little, 1976; Vandell, 1981; Lord and Cauau, 1976; Berry, 1979; and Clark, 1980), employing similar and different research styles along with disciplinary specific perspectives.

The foregoing scholars bring with them techniques common to their discipline as well as those employed across disciplines. Increasingly such methods as factorial ecology, the use of econometric models including hedonic price models, log-linear regression models, and path-analytic techniques are being used to analyze questions bearing upon the potential for desegregation. Therefore, it appears safe to conclude we are moving toward increasing our ability to account for observed patterns of ecological segregation under a given set of constraints. Later in the discussion we will attempt to illustrate how some of this research has had an impact on our understanding of the issues involved.

The index of dissimilarity is a measure of inequality, and to that end it suggests that inequalities that exist in the way two populations are distributed might be overcome by specifying the magnitude of redistribution, e.g., the replacement index, required to produce racial balance. As we move from a state of segregation to attempts to desegregate, the racial-balance idea associated with the methodology has become very important in terms of both issue resolution and individual group response. Therefore, much recent research activity is directed toward dimensions of the racial balance question since this is generally perceived to represent the opposite of segregation. But before we proceed to discuss the state of the art of research inquiry into the feedback process associated with attempts to promote racial balance, we will first establish the context for this discussion.

IMPACT OF DESEGREGATION

COMMUNITY RESPONSE TO DESEGREGATION AND THE CHANGING NATURE OF RESEARCH ISSUES

What started out as essentially a problem involving a single region, the South, has now become more complex, potentially involving communities anywhere in the nation that are multi-racial or multi-ethnic. Both the statement of the problem and the remedy sought may vary on the basis of race, ethnicity, social class, and regional origin. The subtle mix of population across these dimensions is likely to influence strongly both the perceptions of the problem and an acceptable solution. As long as the problem of dual educational systems enforced by state law was confined to the South, it could be viewed totally as a race problem, and simple solutions could be designed to overcome it, e.g., the physical dismantling of some schools that had been originally built to serve the region's black population. Now the problem involves elements that do not facilitate easy legal solutions. Nowhere is that clearer than in the present non-Southern setting where race, class, and ethnicity confound the situation, leading social scientists to assume various postures relating to an explanation of both residential and school segregation, as well as the expected response on the part of those segments of the population who accept the existing pattern as being both desirable and legitimate.

The Influence on Size of Place on School Desegregation Success

Over time both population demography and ecology have changed. Early attempts to enforce desegregation were confined to either small places or rural settings. The scale of the rural settings minimized the physical problem associated with attempts to desegregate Southern school districts.

Currently, much effort is focused on how to remedy the segregation problem in large metropolitan areas where central-city school districts are predominantly black and where suburban school districts are predominantly white. The problem is made even more complex by increased Hispanic and Asian populations who may also attend predominantly group-specific schools, e.g., schools in San Francisco's Chinatown. Thus it is in this setting that social science research is emerging in support of various positions relating to the school desegregation issue. We are concerned here both with the prescriptive dimensions of that research as it winds its way into the policy arena and with the state of the art of research.

As efforts to desegregate Northern urban school districts accelerated during the seventies, the courts were advised these endeavors would lead to white abandonment of central-city schools. Since most white enrollment loss was thought to be directed toward suburban school districts, the term "white flight" was employed to describe this process. Much white flight research has been conducted in the context of busing. Therefore, it is assumed that any attempt to move children around to achieve a social goal will be resisted, and that white withdrawal from desegregated school systems will ensue. The problem, however, appears much more complex than that, as busing programs take on various forms.

School District Spatial Organization

The weaknesses inherent in the most frequently used measures of segregation were previously noted. Likewise, it was noted these measures do not aid us in ascertaining whether segregation levels reflect unintentional or intentional acts. Nevertheless, the level of segregation is partially related to the political organization of space, i.e., the size and shape of contiguous independent school districts. Regional differences in the spatial structure of school administrations are associated with the role and function of government. The problems associated with overbounded and underbounded jurisdictional authorities on the one hand and the differential authority granted county units and local municipalities in the North and South have led to interpretational difficulty relative to both segregation levels and the intentional/unintentional dichotomy. These tend to be exaggerated outside of the South where the underbounding problem most often manifests itself. Under these conditions, a single central city and numerous suburban jurisdictions have evolved, producing a quasi-corresponding multiplicity of school authorities. Johnston (1981) views this subaggregation of jursidictional authority as central to understanding many issues related to school desegregation.

The demographic and ecological changes occurring in American urban populations during the previous thirty years have brought into sharper focus the spatial organization role of school districts' administration on the segregation issue. Blacks and other low-income minorities are highly concentrated in central cities; the white population is broadly dispersed throughout suburban municipalities characterized by differences in ethnic and socioeconomic status. Because Southern jurisdictions have until recently grown slowly and their political boundaries have extended beyond the built-up area, the problem has been less severe. Nevertheless, difficulties associated with the school desegregation issue as an outgrowth of population distribution across school district boundaries have not gone unnoticed. In both regions the legitimacy of these patterns has led to court challenges. These challenges have in turn sharpened the issues and prompted research designed both to support and to weaken the challenge. But more importantly, regarding the state of the art of research inquiry, it has resulted in the use of new research techniques in attempting to explain the etiology of the existing reality.

The Role of the Court in Promoting School Desegregation Research

Because we think the increase in school desegregation literature is motivated by a growing number of court decisions, the above problem will be discussed within that framework. Such issues as school busing and white flight can be shown to be related, in terms of timing, to one decision or another. For example, busing children to satisfy the desegregation goal was legitimated in Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg (1969). Thus busing has become a central issue around which many school desegregation arguments flow, but at the same time it has become the central focus of much school desegregation research. In fact, most ecological school desegregation research appears to be aimed at supporting or rejecting the legitimacy of efforts designed to overcome existing spatial population distributions that describe the segregated state.

Other research is conducted to provide legitimate explanations for segregation and the negative consequences that will derive from attempts to overturn it, e.g., the further decline of central cities and the intensification of the segregation process. From a research perspective, there is a definite need for a set of research tools that will allow us to assess the social distance-physical distance analogues in order to specify more precisely the ecological outcomes of school desegregation efforts.

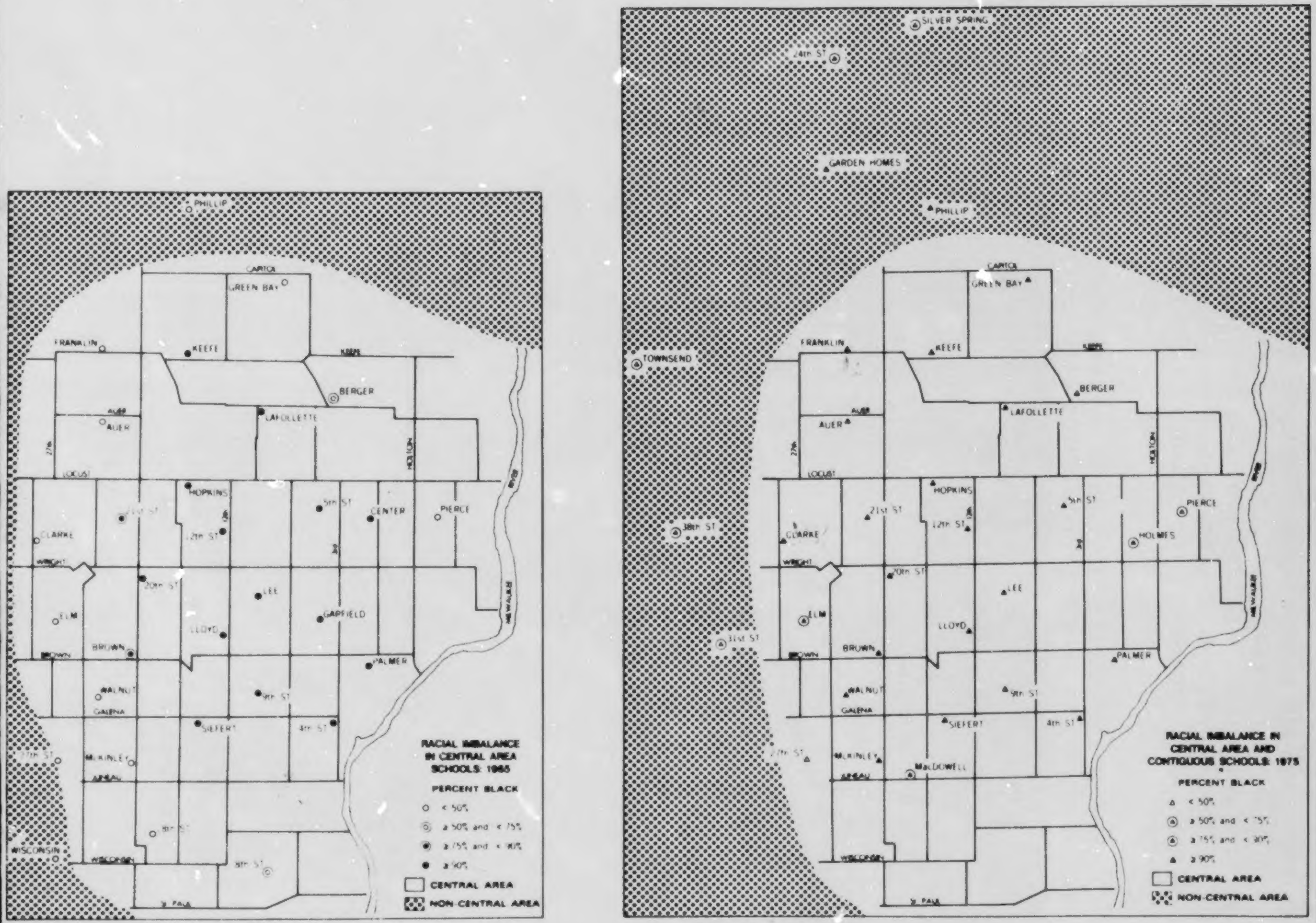
It appears that indices of segregation provide a good summary measure of the extent of racial balance in districts where blacks constitute the minority population. But even this is contingent upon some traditional notion regarding what might appropriately be viewed as a desegregated district. If black and white parental perceptions of a desegregated school vary as widely as they do relative to their perception of neighborhood integration, then it becomes somewhat difficult to resolve this issue. Do black parents in Detroit view the current managers as operating a desegregated system? Or do white parents perceive it to represent a black school system? We are unable to answer these questions; but under the provisions of the Milliken v. Bradley (1974) ruling, the Detroit public schools have been desegregated. This ruling occurred, however, at a time when black students comprised over 70 percent of total enrollment.

The Milliken issue was primarily directed at ascertaining the feasibility of intradistrict solutions in single jurisdictions with rapidly growing black school enrollments. This problem was further aggravated by the long lag in time between the initiation of school desegregation suits and their outcome. For instance, Amos v. Milwaukee Board of Education was initiated in 1966 and went to trial in 1973, but a verdict was not rendered until 1976. The demographic shifts that take place during the interim may greatly influence the feasibility of the recommended remedy (see Figure 3).

By 1970, most larger central-city school districts in the nation were either majority black or rapidly approaching a black majority. Under the circumstances, if school desegregation suits were filed in those jurisdictions and a ruling in favor of the plaintiffs should occur, how could a remedy be fashioned to enable the plaintiffs to seek relief from previous violations? Both the courts and social-science researchers must now grapple with this kind of question.

Judge Roth's ruling at the district level in Milliken indicated he believed the specified violations could be effectively corrected within the framework of an interdistrict solution. He specifically stated that a plan confined to Detroit "would change a school system which is now black and white to one that would be perceived as black, thereby increasing the flight of whites from the city" (Clotfelter, 1976b).

The Supreme Court, however, failed to concur with Judge Roth and overturned the previous ruling, thereby limiting the possibility of seeking a resolution through a proposed interdistrict remedy. The Court, however, did establish conditions under which interdistrict violations warranted interdistrict solutions, although some consider the specifications vague. Such solutions were ordered in Evans v. Buchanan (Wilmington, Delaware) and Newburg Area Council, Inc. v. Louisville Board of Education. But identifying violations acceptable to the Court outside of the existence of contiguous dual systems is a difficult task (see Knox, 1976, and Crowell, 1976). In each of the previous systems where interdistrict solutions were approved, a contiguous dual system existed. But the courts have not always sustained the position of the plaintiffs, even in situations where the contiguous dual system existed. In situations where the position was sustained, there was evidence that the contiguous districts were in collusion in maintaining racially segregated schools.



RACIAL IMBALANCE IN CENTRAL AREA SCHOOLS: 1965

RACIAL IMBALANCE IN CENTRAL AREA AND CONTIGUOUS SCHOOLS: 1975

PERCENT BLACK
< 50%
≥ 50% and < 75%
≥ 75% and < 90%
≥ 90%
CENTRAL AREA
NON-CENTRAL AREA
SILVER SPRING
24th ST
GARDEN HOMES
PHILLIP
CAPITOL
GREEN BAY
FRANKLIN
KEEFE
TOWNSEND
BERGER
AUER
LAFOLLETTE
27th
HOLTON
LOCUST
HOPKINS
21st ST
5th ST
CENTER
PIERCE
CLARKE
12th ST
HOLMES
38th ST
WRIGHT
20th ST
LEE
GARFIELD
ELM
LLOYD
31st ST
BROWN
PALMER
WALNUT
9th ST
GALENA
SIEFERT
4th ST
27th ST
McKINLEY
JUNEAU
MacDOWELL
8th ST
WISCONSIN
RIVER
MILWAUKEE

Figure 3: Change in the Racial Composition of Schools in a Zone of Racial Turnover, Milwaukee, 1965-1975

This brief discussion was designed to highlight both the unique contribution of the spatial organizational structure of school jurisdiction on levels of segregation and the ways in which attempts to overcome these organizational structures have been dealt with by the courts. In our opinion, the court treatment of these issues has spawned much of the current interest in school desegregation research. Likewise, this discussion sets the stage for examining the third question which we proposed that ecological and demographic research should assist in providing answers.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION AND INTRAURBAN MOBILITY

The final question which we assume ecological and demographic research should assist in answering is the following: What should we expect in the way of non-educational responses to efforts to desegregate the nation's public schools? The debate over the merits of desegregation runs the gamut from issues of cognitive achievement to those associated with improved intergroup relations (Armor, 1972). But from an ecological perspective, the central issue seems to be related to the anticipated response of members of one group to the presence of another group in what is initially perceived as the former's home territory. This slightly simplifies a more complex issue, but it serves to facilitate the discussion. What we really refer to is the extent to which school desegregation efforts are a catalyst inducing population movement. Since both intraurban mobility and interregional migration represent integral elements in demographic research, it is logical to expect demographic analysts to clarify this problem.

Selected Issues Related to White Flight Research

In this section of the paper we will briefly review selected issues in white flight research. In a nutshell, this research attempts to inform us how one segment of the population responds to a set of externally-derived policies. The research itself often seems to support either a pluralist or an assimilationist position regarding the merits of desegregation. Thus the tools chosen or the ways in which variables are operationalized seem to be designed to support one of these ideal states or the other. For instance, Kantrowitz (1981) argues that the index of dissimilarity is a social convention which can be loosely construed to further efforts of the assimilationist, and that using an alternative method, e.g., demographic mapping, would fail to support the claims that a major decline in ethnic clustering has occurred.

Kantrowitz' position is important not so much for its technical accuracy, but for its signalling of the context in which racial and ethnically-related research is currently being conducted. Wacker (1981) recently highlighted this position: "Although the social and cultural sciences will constantly work toward a core of paradigmatic presuppositions and assumptions, we should expect challenges to the core to emerge .... This is particularly true where new cohorts of social scientists with different life experiences are brought into the various social science communities." The context is further influenced by the government's position, described by Dormon (1981): "The essential point is that the U.S. government has established cultural pluralism as an official policy to be pursued in the interests of preserving ethnic group identity and integrity." The perspective that individual researchers bring to the research task was pointed out earlier in this paper as being important in the conduct of school desegregation in general, but it tends to be even more important as it relates to providing answers to the third question that this section of the paper has elected to address.

We will briefly review the current state of white flight research and assess the state of the art of inquiry utilized by these researchers. Likewise, some limited attention will be devoted to evaluating the potential of techniques that have been used less often in school desegregation research but have been profitably utilized in residential succession research. Also, we will attempt to sharpen the distinctions between methodological issues and conceptual issues.

White Flight: An Issue of Race or Class?

The white flight issue can be posed as either a race or a class issue. Farley's (1977) demonstration, however, that residential segregation in this country is far more intense on the basis of race than on class would tend to indicate class considerations are secondary. This position has been sustained by Schnare (1980) who illustrates that black exposure to whites is minimal across social-class lines, although it is obvious that blacks in high-income neighborhoods are more likely to attend schools where white children are in the majority. In the school case, on the other hand, one recent study attempted to distinguish between the role of race and class prejudices on the white response to desegregation (Giles et al., 1976). In most instances, however, the white flight issue is basically related to the racial makeup of central-city and suburban school districts. Yet the findings of the previous researchers suggest the aggregate-race variable is too coarse to explain the differences in white response levels.

Busing and White Flight Research

As intentional efforts to desegregate Northern urban school districts accelerated during the seventies, the courts were advised that these efforts would lead to white abandonment of central-city schools. Since most white enrollment loss was thought to be directed toward suburban school districts, the term "white flight" was employed to describe this process.

To date, much white flight research has been conducted in relationship to busing, which is thought to serve as the specific stimulus motivating parents to remove their children from public schools. Therefore, it is assumed that any attempt to move children around to achieve a social goal will be resisted and that white withdrawal from desegregating school systems will ensue. The problem, however, appears to be much more complex than that, as busing programs take on various forms. Researchers seldom specify the nature of the busing programs to which persons are perceived to be responding. Should we expect a different parental response to two-way versus one-way busing programs? Furthermore, researchers, not unlike citizens, have readily adopted such non-neutral terminology as "forced busing" to describe the phenomena under investigation (Farrell et al., 1977).

The Assimilationist versus the Pluralist

White flight research appears to be the most adversarial of all school desegregation research conducted by scholars employing a demographic and/or ecological orientation. Generally on one side of the issue are scholars who have historically supported attempts to desegregate the nation's schools, i.e., the assimilationists, and on the other are those who view judicial efforts to achieve this goal with some disdain, i.e., the pluralists. The recent flap between Coleman and his critics forcefully drives this point home. Pettigrew and Green (1976) have accused Coleman of publicly advocating positions relating to "white flight" and school desegregation that are based not upon his research results but upon his sympathies. They were extremely critical of both his positions and the research methodology itself. Nevertheless, Coleman, and more recently Armor (1978, 1980), on the basis of their research, insist school desegregation leads to substantial abandonment of the public schools by white children. Armor (1981) states of court-ordered busing that "this is a remarkable achievement for perhaps the most unpopular, least successful, and most harmful national policy since Prohibition."

The positions of Coleman and Armor, which are strongly identified with a pluralist posture, have not gone unanswered. Both Taeuber and his associates and Farley and his, both of whom are associated with the assimilationists leanings of the Chicago School, have been very active in this area. Like Pettigrew and Green, they suggest that some of Coleman's findings are flawed on methodological grounds. These researchers have employed both similar and dissimilar methodological approaches. As an example of the latter, Wilson and Taeuber (1978), analyzing data from Los Angeles, Long Beach, and Pasadena, and employing an eight-variable path model, have attempted to explain the residential segregation-school desegregation link as it relates to Anglo movement. They indicate the link is quite complex, requiring much additional research. Regarding white flight, they comment as follows: "Many social scientists who have commented on the contemporary shrill public debate about 'white flight' have called for a broader conceptual and empirical analysis of urban demographic change. On the basis of our work, we repeat that call" (Wilson and Taeuber, 1978).

White Flight Research and Problem Definition

White flight research continues to be important to numerous scholars. But problems of definition and conflicting outcomes differ, based on school districts, size of school districts, city versus county school systems, and choice of research methodologies. Nevertheless, some of the earlier criticisms associated with Coleman's work might have been ameliorated by the more recent work of Armor (1978). By correcting for specific, previously criticized, operational procedures, as well as definitions, Armor has attempted to overcome some of the earlier criticisms leveled at Coleman's white flight research. Ultimately, though, his results and those of Coleman bear much similarity, as do those of the more recent analyses of Rossell and Farley (Armor, 1978).

Both Coleman and Armor employ population projections as a tool for evaluating expected enrollment changes with actual enrollment changes. Where significant differences show themselves in the two trend lines, they are explained in terms of the impact of desegregation. A major difference in the manner in which this technique has been employed largely revolves around the definition of desegregation, groupings of school districts, and the magnitude of student reassignments. Coleman defined desegregation as simply a decrease in the level of a segregation index over a specific time interval. Armor, on the other hand, has focused his attention largely on court-ordered desegregation and has grouped districts on the basis of school reassignment levels. Thus, as a result of this clarification of the conceptual issues, Armor's work is not subject to some of the criticisms of the previous researcher because Armor is specifically concerned with levels of student reassignment on the level of white withdrawal from public schools subject to court-ordered desegregation.

The debate continues, however, regarding how much of the change in white enrollment can be directly attributed to court-ordered desegregation. Moreover, others have raised the following issue: Why simply focus on white enrollment declines in specific cities? On the former, Sly and Pol (1978) raise some interesting research questions. Employing an indirect measure of white flight, they conclude too little emphasis has been placed on the role of black-white fertility differences and black-white female age structure differences on segregation levels. That is, white enrollment declines can partially be attributed to demographic factors unrelated to student migration. Although that argument might weaken Coleman's position, it does not invalidate Armor's results. It does show, however, that the issue is complex and that research to date has not allowed for a precise partitioning of the reasons for white enrollment decline. Nevertheless, efforts continue in this direction.

Perhaps the most significant work attempting to partition racial and nonracial factors on white flight is that of Frey (1979). Through an elaborate path model, Frey sets out to test a series of hypotheses regarding white central-city to suburban movement. One of his assumptions is that race-related factors are less important than central-city decline factors on whites' propensity to move to the suburbs. Although population structure was shown to be the most important variable influencing this outcome, the assumption that central-city decline was more important than race-related factors was rejected. A further elaboration of his race variables, however, indicates that percent central-city black rather than the changing level of school desegregation was the principal explanatory variable. It should be pointed out that Frey's definition of school desegregation paralleled that of Coleman (1976).

Frey's two-stage path model sheds some additional light on the interdistrict problem, largely from the perspective of model design. He has pointed up the necessity for more elaborate research designs if we are ever to bring closure to this issue. Similarly, Wilson and Taeuber (1978) also have employed path models in their recent attempt to establish the school segregation-residential segregation link on Anglo movement in a selected set of cities. Based on their results, they state: "The conclusion we wish to stress here is the need for demographers to include more of the social institutional structure within their analytic domain."

Why Have Black Enrollment Declines Gone Unnoticed?

One apparent omission from the white flight research is the role of the interdistrict movement of blacks similar in socioeconomic status to their white counterparts. The recent acceleration in the black suburbanization process should also be expected to have a negative impact on the central-city enrollment problem. Most research, however, has failed to take notice of this emerging trend or to devote attention to the potential for desegregation within a suburban context.

Not all researchers, however, have chosen to ignore blacks in specifying changing enrollment patterns. Rossell (1975-76), in her analysis of the white flight issue, employs total enrollment, rather than white population, as the base of measuring white enrollment changes. Pettigrew and Green (1976) have also raised the question of why black enrollment changes are not given more attention by those engaged in white flight research. To date, Katzman and Childs (1979) have most extensively addressed this issue. They have conducted an initial exploratory investigation into the topic, with a central focus on the suburbanization of middle-income blacks and the subsequent drop in black enrollment in school districts affected by a process they described as "black flight."

Through their pilot investigation of black movement in Dallas, Katzman and Childs have opened the door to another dimension of the problem that has been largely overlooked: the effect of race/class interaction on the decision regarding residential choice and the role of race and class composition of a school-district upon the decision either to enroll or to withdraw one's children from it. Needless to say, black suburbanization during the late sixties did not lead to significant differences in patterns of racial residential segregation than those which existed in central cities (Rose, 1976). There is some limited evidence, however, that black professionals during the seventies were increasingly being attracted to housing environments remote from black-white border markets (Rose, 1981). Although black movement to the suburbs quickened during the previous decade, there is yet limited evidence suggesting the context in which this redistribution occurred. How emerging patterns of black interdistrict movement are likely to influence the level of school desegregation in both an intra- and interdistrict context is not well understood. More importantly, they are not carefully considered in school desegregation research that has largely focused upon the question of white flight.

A Microspatial Perspective on Desegregation

To date, much demographic and ecological work, within an urban context, has been macro scale. Macro-scale analysis simply compares changes within a set of central-city school districts or a combination of central-city and suburban districts, without focusing upon the response within the neighborhood context. An explicit focus on the micro-spatial elements of school desegregation activity is missing from most school desegregation research. Until recently, few geographers perceived school desegregation research to constitute a legitimate disciplinary field of investigation. But as the number of urban social geographers increases, one would expect an increase in investigations in which micro-scale investigations become as important as the more traditional macro-scale studies.

A small group of geographers, both independently and in collaboration with sociologists, have already begun to advance our understanding of the spatial implications of the desegregation process. A clear example of the microspatial approach to desegregation study can be observed in the work of Lord (1977) and Lord and Catau (1976). Their work on white flight in Charlotte-Mecklenburg County emphasizes the spatial patterns of the origin and destination of white movers, and provides some insight into the character and environment of both the origin and destination of the movers. Likewise, through the use of a survey instrument, they are able to determine the extent to which movers were responding to court-ordered busing as opposed to responding to the existence of pull factors in the adjacent county's environment. They, too, conclude that percentage of blacks in the school system is strongly related to the magnitude of white flight.

In work similar to that conducted by Lord and Catau, Jackson (1971) provides some additional insight into the microspatial interactions in a Denver school zone that eventually led to the Keyes decision. In this instance, it was not the growing racial imbalance in the school system that led the school board to act in ways the court deemed discriminatory, but simply an attempt to influence the racial makeup of two adjacent districts (see Figure 4). The school board action in the latter instance illustrates concern for the issue of dominance discussed earlier.

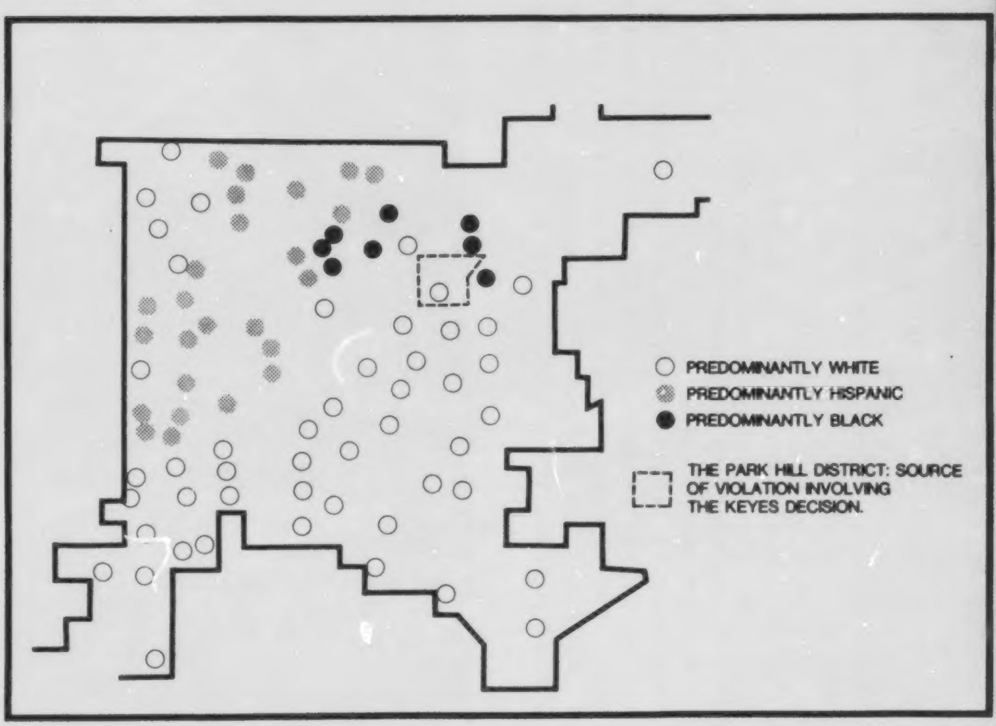

PREDOMINANTLY WHITE
PREDOMINANTLY HISPANIC
PREDOMINANTLY BLACK
THE PARK HILL DISTRICT: SOURCE OF VIOLATION INVOLVING THE KEYES DECISION.

Figure 4: The Racial and Ethnic Composition of Denver Elementary Schools, 1973

Clark (1980), who supports the position that racial residential patterns basically reflect group choice and are only minimally related to state action, arrives at such a conclusion based on an empirical-mathematical orientation. Through using a set of distance decay curves that tend to simulate the evolving residential patterns of white and black households, he concludes that the observed pattern is basically an expression of individual preferences. This argument was presented in numerous court cases where the researcher testified in support of the board of education's position. More specifically, Clark (1980) states the following: "The increased role of the courts in the school system may well turn schools into a more substantial factor. Given the behavioral forces represented by the distance decay curve for white or black households, and given an initial minority concentration, it is unlikely that the residential pattern of any minority concentration would be particularly different from what it is today."

The spatial residential development approach to intraurban mobility employed by some microanalytic scholars to highlight school desegregation outcomes, at least in terms of altered mobility patterns, should prove beneficial by better enabling us to understand the process. But the interpretation given the outcome of models developed to illustrate or to project expected behavior is often colored by investigator support for a pluralist or assimilationist solution. Nevertheless, a micro-spatial view of intraurban mobility patterns should serve to complement the macro-analytic approach that forms the bases of much of what we know about the ecology of urban school segregation.

The Potential of Alternative Techniques

This essay has attempted to provide a review of the mode of research conducted within an ecological/demographic framework that has assisted us in understanding some of the complexities associated with public school desegregation. Clearly, the state of the art of inquiry into this topic is constrained by the state of the art of inquiry in those disciplines from which most school desegregation research is derived. From the various disciplines associated with ecological research, a multiplicity of orientations and techniques have evolved, leading them to represent the standard set. But there are others that appear to possess added potential in assisting us in providing answers to questions raised in the first section of this paper. Only two of the techniques, which at this point seem to have eluded the attention of ecologically-oriented school desegregation researchers, will be mentioned here. These include using hedonic price indices and applying factorial ecology. They both appear able to assist us in establishing desegregation potential and in appraising more accurately the behavioral responses associated with desegregation efforts (the flight or fight syndrome).

Hedonic price indices are most often employed by economists and are used to establish the price a consumer is assumed to be willing to pay for an individual attribute that constitutes an element in a larger package. Hedonic price indices are derived through using regression models and are sometimes referred to as shadow prices because they represent a set of indirect estimates of willingness to pay. These indices are most extensively used to estimate the value of each strand in the housing bundle, e.g., size of lot, age of house, and racial composition of neighborhood, and it is in that area that their potential association with school desegregation research appears to be greatest.

The work of Little (1976) and Berry (1976) demonstrates the potential utility of this technique in school desegregation research. Little employed a hedonic analysis in attempting to specify the role of individual housing attributes on housing value changes in a St. Louis suburb. For instance, he was able to establish the contribution of neighborhood racial makeup on the housing-filtering process. Included among his independent variables, however, were surrogates for school quality. Little's model, with some modification, could easily be adapted to address the school desegregation issue or at least some aspects of it. Likewise, Berry's use of a hedonic price model within a micro-spatial context in Chicago further illustrates its value for school desegregation research. His work highlighted the contributions of specific traits on housing values in a spatially-segmented market, based on race and ethnicity.

The work of Berry and his students in the area of urban spatial structure, which has been predicated largely on factorial ecology, seems to have been ignored by school desegregation researchers. This can no doubt be attributed to its modal use by geographers who have had only limited involvement in the field of desegregation research. It is true that Clark (1976) expressed uncertainty about the value of social areas, derived from factorial ecology, in explaining intraurban migration patterns. That seems, however, to imply investigator preference for one technique over another, rather than indicating some inherent shortcoming in the technique itself. Berry's analysis of Chicago's urban structure, through the use of factorial ecology, coupled with the participant observation work of his associates in his open housing research, could clarify the anticipated response of individual subcommunities to the initiation of formal desegregation programs. These simply represent two of the most obvious techniques employed by economists and geographers that seem not to have found their way into the research battery employed by school desegregation researchers. But in our opinion they could assist us in both specifying the level of ecological segregation, in the case of the latter technique, and providing greater insight into an understanding of the third question raised in this paper.

The Continuing Effort to Identify a Racial Response Threshold

As one reviews the growing volume of ecologically-oriented school desegregation research, one cannot escape the persistent concern with specifying how whites respond to a black presence in a common social setting, most specifically in a neighborhood setting. This concern was initially expressed in the form of attempting to specify racial tipping points. As a result of her observations of neighborhood change in a single Detroit neighborhood, Wolf (1963) expressed uncertainty about the validity of the concept. Nevertheless, there is clearly a continuing interest in the possibility that such a point exists, at least on intuitive grounds. For instance, Goering (1978) in a more recent assessment of the validity of the concept, indicates Hasidic Jews opposed the racial ratios that were being employed to tenant a public housing project in New York on the grounds it would promote neighborhood tipping. It seems this situation prompted Goering to reinvestigate the merits of the concept. His investigation shows so many variables at work that it is unlikely a tipping point exists. But he is unsure whether social-science evidence is in a position either to reject or to validate the existence of such a threshold at this time.

Because of our inability to determine if some discrete population level creates an accelerated mover response on the part of the initial resident population, we have turned our attention to continuous variables. Thus white flight has come to replace the tipping point. Nevertheless, both concepts appear in the school desegregation literature. Very early Stinchcombe et al. (1969) found no evidence of a tipping point describing racial change in the Baltimore school system during a ten-year interval (1955-65). Yet the issue is continuously raised, as has been demonstrated by the research of Clotfelter (1976b) and Giles et al. (1975).

Our interest in mechanisms such as the tipping point, and more recently white flight, points up a pervasive theme in ecologically-oriented research: the response of higher-status groups to lower-status groups based on race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status. Because these do not represent mutually exclusive traits, our ability to specify how these variables interact to produce a given outcome is still somewhat vague. It is clear, however, that various groups, as well as subgroups within a common group, view the problem differently. Therefore, they engage in research designed to promote one group's goals or the other.

The previous return to the above topic was designed to allow us to end this essay by once again focusing on desegregation as a public policy issue. Moreover, much of the research on school desegregation is expected in some way to have an impact on this public policy issue. My closing remarks simply reflect how I perceive the issue and its possible resolution, based on the results of ecological and demographic research and my understanding of changes in the nation's spatial and demographic population structure.

THE FUTURE OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

While we move into the 1980s, the status of school desegregation appears to be in limbo as the judiciary rethinks its position, as Congress perennially attempts to pass legislation that would bring desegregation efforts to a halt, and as various sub-populations express their disenchantment with busing to achieve desegregation. Further attempts to expand the scope of desegregation activity appear to be hampered partially by continuing changes in patterns of population distribution that have resulted in the concentration of blacks in large central cities and whites in the suburban ring. The more recent movement of whites to small and medium-sized cities and of blacks to the suburbs further complicates the demographic base upon which desegregation might be expected to occur. Finally, the growth of new immigrant populations who are provided a suspect classification, i.e., groups viewed as a protected class, and their attitudes regarding school desegregation could prove important.

The foregoing and other factors, however, can be expected to have an impact upon some acceptable definition of both nonsegregated and desegregated school systems. Although many problems associated with achieving desegregated schooling in America are tied to the nation's changing demography and subsequent changes in ecological structure, numerous other questions--that are only indirectly related to demography--will impinge on desegregation outcomes.

THE NEED TO CLARIFY THE CENTRAL ISSUES

Because desegregation has become a national issue instead of simply a regional one, its achievement has become more problematic. This is due primarily to lack of clarity of the issues involved and especially of the anticipated outcomes (Newby, 1982; Glazer, 1964; Bell, 1976; and Willie, 1976). The conflicts growing out of equity and dominance issues, however, tends to be the most prominent. Groups supporting a pluralist position, wherein subgroup dominance of an ecological niche is paramount, are unlikely to support many of the techniques employed to achieve school desegregation. These techniques often threaten the possibility of continued dominance within a social setting. On this score, some researchers contend that we have paid too little attention to human territorial attachments and the subsequent response when these territories are threatened by outsiders (Greenbie, 1976). Buell (1980), employing one paradigm associated with this research orientation, has attempted to explain the response of a low-income ethnic population to school desegregation in Boston.

On the matter of equity, it is generally assumed that only the de jure segregated schools of the South were guilty of denying it. Therefore, regional differences in patterns of social organization have led to different emphases and interpretations of issues central to both understanding and successfully resolving problems associated with American school desegregation. Nevertheless, research will no doubt continue to support one position or the other (equity or dominance). Likewise, we can anticipate continued introduction of sophisticated methodology to demonstrate the validity of one's position.

Both whites and blacks have raised questions relative to the merits of attempting to desegregate large urban school systems. The declining support by blacks, however, has received only limited documentation. The failure of researchers to overlook this issue and to continue to view the black population as a monolith is shortsighted. But because some blacks have expressed a lack of enthusiasm for school desegregation, whites have used this as further evidence that little support exists for current efforts to promote racial balance or other strategies designed to promote equity. Edelman (1975), however, responds to this and similar positions in the following way: "Brown addressed the constitutional rights of black school children. The vagaries of public and parental opinion, black and white, cannot be permitted any more than the vagaries of social science data to govern the fulfillment of rights. The very reason for having a Constitution in this country is to transcend the views of the moment." Obviously Edelman's statement reflects an overriding concern for the equity issue. But because of the altered circumstances and arenas where this drama is being played out, the question of equity seems to have become secondary and in some quarters no longer is a central issue. For instance, opposition to busing in one Northern city, under court order, was only slightly diminished when a response was sought based on whether the violation was intentional or unintentional (McClendon and Pestello, 1982).

The positions expressed above seem to imply that attempts simply to foster racial balance without clearly enunciating the goals of the corrected violation will be met with strong opposition. It is also clear that even if the goals were clearly specified, some opposition would continue to exist. This attitude, although easily observed within the general public, can also be observed in both the legal community (Escher and Gudel, 1976) and the social-science community.

Numerous social-science scholars overlook questions of equity as constituting questions of primary importance. Instead many are sympathetic to the views of persons with whom they identify and circumstances with which they are familiar. This should be expected as the number of social-science scholars representing various ethnic perspectives increases. For instance, one scholar indicates that although he has conducted research representing the interest of both groups, his white flight research advocated "the interests that were responsible for the flight itself"--the interest of parents, mostly white, who felt their children's education would be harmed by this policy (Coleman, 1976). Likewise, in attempting to resolve this issue, the judiciary have often been more eager to address educational programming questions than to address constitutional issues associated with equity (Kirp, 1981). Actions of this type tend to stifle efforts at desegregating the nation's schools and will no doubt continue until many of the uncertainties associated with attempts to overcome previous violations by the state are clarified and goals are more clearly spelled out.

Changes in the demographic character and distribution of the population, coupled with altered public attitudes regarding public education, are likely to have a negative impact upon continued desegregation efforts. This is already evident in the actions of the principal agents involved in desegregation cases. The Court, beginning with Dayton Board of Education v. Brinkman (1977), let it be known that in the future the scope of the desegregation remedy must not exceed the scope of the violation. The Court in that case invoked the controlled principle which "requires a remedy to be structured so as to approximate the conditions that would have prevailed absent the violation--the 'remedied status quo'" (Kanner, 1978). Thus, both the controlling principle and evidence of segregative intent are likely to preclude any major efforts to desegregate the nation's schools within a racial balance framework. From this and other actions, it would appear that equity might have to be pursued in ways other than those addressed in this paper.

The challenge we are now confronted with is how do we continue to promote a school desegregation policy that addresses itself to issues of equity and dominance. For those who view equity in terms of improved cognitive outcomes--the development of post-school networks, etc.--the door appears to be closing as opposition from those whose principal concern is control of the school environment, including its racial and socioeconomic composition, continues to grow. Under the circumstances, a more flexible concept of desegregated schools--which is not totally tied to the concept of racial balance--seems to be required. Needless to say, such a concept should not be employed to allow school authorities to retreat from the principle upon which desegregation in education is grounded: equality of educational opportunity.

Until equity and dominance considerations are resolved, equity is likely to be lost under an avalanche of opposition from those who implicitly or explicitly maintain that dominance, and subsequently environmental control, is the single overriding concern. The challenge is an enormous one, but the stakes are high. The question now becomes: Can future demographic and ecological research aid us in successfully meeting the challenge? Or will it simply provide a counter set of resources for those on one side of the issue or the other?

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QUASI-EXPERIMENTAL RESEARCH ON THE DESEGREGATION SITUATION

Thomas D. Cook

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

Determining the research questions worth asking is difficult in any substantive domain. But it may be especially so with school desegregation. As we shall see, groups with different stakes in desegregation exist that probably want to see different questions answered. Some of these groups even change in composition and interests as time goes by. The Federal government is a salient instance. One administration seems to be committed to action to desegregate; the next seems more committed to words than deeds; while the next appears to be committed to a slowdown, if not a halt, in desegregation activities. In light of this reality we begin this paper by developing a framework for uncovering the questions worth asking about desegregation and for linking these questions to different stakeholder groups.

In the second section we explicate the concept of "quasi-experiment" from a structural-functional perspective, showing that its major function is only relevant to a subset of the questions worth asking about desegregation. Thus, choosing quasi-experimental methods for the study of desegregation presumes the priority of a certain type of research question and makes paramount the interests of those stakeholder groups that want this type of question answered. The decision to use quasi-experimental methods involves a political, as well as a methodological, choice.

In the third section we discuss some of the limitations attributed to quasi-experiments, stressing how other methodological features can be added to them to increase the range of questions and stakeholder groups which can be satisfied. However, our analysis shows that while such auxiliary methods attenuate the problems associated with quasi-experimental methods, they do not eliminate these problems entirely.

If methodological choices are related to political choices, it then becomes important to discuss what is worth learning from research on school desegregation. Without such an analysis we run the risk of letting the choice of methods guide the choice of research questions and of inadvertently selecting questions from an overly parochial list of possibilities. The conclusion section offers a tentative guide to some of the criteria worth considering

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I would like to thank Halford Fairchild and Janet Schofield for their very helpful comments on prior drafts. Douglas Longshore, Jeffrey Praeger and Melvin Seeman have been exemplary (and tolerant and patient) creators and supervisors of this project, and I also owe them my thanks.

in determining research questions and prioritizing among them. Particular attention is paid to perspectives that emphasize "situational" variables, and specific features are discussed that might make quasi-experiments more responsive to such emphases.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS WORTH ASKING AND DISCOVERING ABOUT SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

THE FOUR LEVELS OF GENERALITY

School desegregation is an issue at different levels of generality. The most general level touches on national policy as laid down by statute and judicial interpretation. Until recently this policy has forced school districts with *de jure* segregation to desegregate, and it has put pressure on districts with *de facto* segregation to justify the existing racial composition of schools or to desegregate. Since so many school districts have desegregated, one could rightly wonder for the nation at large: How many children have and have not been affected by desegregation; how has it been implemented in different places; what have been its effects on achievement, academic motivation, and racial tolerance; what has been its impact on local politics and school financing; what have been the processes, inside and outside of school, that seem to have contributed to the successes or failures of desegregation; what has desegregation cost the nation financially, socially, and politically; and could its benefits have been achieved more easily some other way?

Questions phrased at this level of generality do not take much account of the considerable heterogeneity in desegregation plans and actions at the local level. The American education system is characterized by many school districts, each with a history of autonomy. Since desegregation plans are made at the district (or metropolitan) level, from a bird's eye view school desegregation must look more like a patchwork quilt with a complex design than like a monochrome bedsheet that represents a single national policy. If school desegregation means local heterogeneity, the issue arises of whether to focus research attention at the level of the desegregating administrative unit (usually a local school district) or at the level of national policy.

Human ingenuity being as limited as it is, there is likely to be considerable overlap among the desegregation activities implemented across districts. This is because the judges and officials who develop desegregation plans are likely to cast around to find out what other districts have done and to adopt (or adapt) whichever plans and practices seem suitable for them. My guess is that one could construct a finite number of models of desegregation into which most districts could reasonably be fit. If so, it would be useful to ask research questions about desegregation models as well as about national policies. This is not to suggest that all the districts classified under one model would be identical in desegregation activities. Far from it. A more modest criterion for inferring a model of desegregation is that there should be less variance in implemented activities within instances of a model than between models.

The debate between Armor (1972) and Pettigrew et al. (1973) is largely about the utility of focusing desegregation research on national policy or on models of desegregation. Pettigrew believes that desegregation is most likely to be effective when it is based on the processes outlined in the "contact hypothesis." This predicts positive outcomes only when desegregation leads to racial integration within classrooms, i.e., the children have equal status, work in a cooperative environment, and perceive support for integration from teachers, parents, and school authorities. This "integration" model is contrasted with a "desegregation" model that is largely based on physically bringing together different races in the same building and passively (or even actively) encouraging resegregation. According to Pettigrew, Armor's attempt to overview the effects of desegregation lumps together school districts following integration and desegregation models and may obscure the positive effects of integration. We do not want to suggest that the distinction between integration and desegregation exhausts all the relevant models. Many others can be tentatively inferred, most of which originate in extant theories of interracial contact and/or the determinants of school achievement. Our major point is that scholars differ on the utility of examining desegregation in terms of global national policy or different models of how to desegregate.

The final level of generality we consider concerns elements in the local desegregation process. Research on elements would probe questions about how school districts can, for example, modify their interaction with the media, how they can select teachers, how children should be physically arranged in classrooms, how the interaction between children of different ethnic backgrounds can be structured, how minority and majority parents can become actively involved in the desegregation process, how "tipping points" can be determined beyond which white flight accelerates, how busing should be structured, etc. Even within a single school district, desegregation is a complex package of elements, and officials have some choice over what to do, when, and how. Research on elements over which there is control can presumably improve the outcomes of the desegregation process as a whole.

Not all groups with a stake in desegregation assign equal importance to the levels of national policy, models, local desegregation plans, and manipulable elements within plans. In districts that have already desegregated, school boards, principals, teachers, and parents have crossed the Rubicon, and they rarely want to restructure radically what has already been done. Their need is to discover new band-aids for those elements of the local desegregation plan that are not working well. Practitioners want to know what to do next within the constraints that currently pertain, and so they mostly focus on elements as the level for desired inference.

Their prospective orientation based on elements contrasts starkly with the retrospective emphasis of most of the stakeholders whose major questions have local districts as the unit of concern. The judges who order local desegregation plans usually want to know what they have achieved in the district or methropolitan area at large, usually in terms of school ethnic ratios; superintendents and school board members are often called upon by parent and media groups to summarize the consequence of desegregation for achievement and discipline; and the Federal offices that have brought recalcitrant school districts to court want to know about the post-desegregation racial composition of schools, about the characteristics of who is bused, etc. Like these officials, local teachers and principals are probably also curious about what desegregation has achieved in a particular district. But my guess is that this seems less important to them than discovering how to improve upon what they are currently doing in desegregated schools.

Judges or school boards facing a desegregation decision probably have different information needs from any of the above groups. They would probably be more interested in learning about models of effective desegregation that seem applicable to the community about to be desegregated, particularly if the models have been disciplined by the experiences of other districts. Many social scientists share this interest in learning about different models of desegregation, largely because most models are offshoots of extant social-science theories. Thus, the contrast of "integration" and "desegregation" models probes (without definitively testing) the contact hypotheses, the contrast of models based on the maximal or minimal use of "ability" tracking within desegregated schools probes (but again does not test) theories of social stratification and intra-organizational mobility while models based on voluntary versus forced desegregation probe (but do not test) theories of external control and its consequences.

The most general of the four levels we explicated is that of national policy. Here interest groups, Federal officials, and some Congressional committees have an interest in monitoring in the nation at large how many white children are thought to have left school systems for private schools or are thought to have left cities for racially more homogeneous suburbs. Other interest groups monitor the achievement levels of minority (and sometimes, even white) children to examine how achievement has changed over the years. Journalists and scholars with public-policy backgrounds examine these same issues, and also study how desegregation affects local and national political arrangements. In these nation-level interests they are joined by representatives of national associations of school boards, of school superintendents, of principals, and of teachers. We advance the hypothesis, then, that as far as information about school desegregation is concerned, stakeholder groups differ in the level of generality at which their interst is expressed.

A TYPOLOGY OF RESEARCH QUESTIONS

We now ask whether, irrespective of the level of generality, different stakeholder groups have interests in different research questions. To do this, we distinguish between seven types of questions.

One concerns the "clients" of desegregation, the children and teachers who are and are not moved from one school to another. At any of the four levels of generality mentioned earlier, one can ask: What percentage of children with a given racial or socio-economic background attends desegregated schools, or is exposed to a particular element in the desegregation plan of a community? How many children from each background opt out of public schools? How many are bused, and how far? At the level of national policy, one might also want to know about how many school districts of a particular sort have and have not desegregated; at the model level one might want to know how many districts opt for a particular model of desegregation, voluntarily or under court supervision; at the local instance level, one might want to know how many of the schools, teachers, and children in a district are involved in desegregation activities. And at the element level, one might want to know how many children of which kinds are tracked in particular curriculum areas, particularly in ways that are likely to bring about resegregation.

Implementation concerns what actually happens when desegregation takes place. Although desegregation activities are partly determined by desegregation plans, implementation is rarely isomorphic with plans. This is because not all planned activities occur, some unplanned events take place, and planners' priorities are rarely identical with practitioners'. Teachers, principals, parents, and children partly do what they want to do. At the level of national policy, and analysis of implementation might describe the percentage of large cities which stalled desegregation by drafting inadequate plans whose discussion precluded action, the percentage of cities that responded by busing much larger percentages of minority than white students, the percentage that implemented desegregation but coupled it with media campaigns absolving city leaders from responsibility, and the percentage that implemented cooperative endeavors designed to lead to active integration. At the model level, an analysis of implementation involves conceptualizing models, describing district practices, and then categroizing them as implementing model X, Y, or Z or no clear model at all. Such an analysis should document the unique aspects of each model, and one can go on from this to probe why implementation proved to be more problematic with some models than others. At the level of local school districts, implementation analyses require describing, say, the extent of busing in a particular district and the social conditions on buses. Or, it might involve describing interaction patterns in the classroom or during breaks. At the element level, implementation questions depend on the particular element under analysis. If it were an interracial parents committee, for example, one would ask how often it met, what it discussed, who the opinion leaders were, etc.

Perhaps the best known type of research question about desegration concerns its planned and unplanned effects on children. The primary issues in the past have touched upon how desegregation has affected achievement, academic self-concept, "white flight," and discipline within schools. At the level of national policy, questions about effects might focus on whether desegregation has brought about changes in the aggregate achievement level of blacks, Hispanics, or whites, or changes in the rates at which students of different backgrounds go to college. At the model level, the crucial question is to compare the relative effects of different models, but there is also some utility to comparing each model with what would have happened had there been no desegregation at all. At the school district level, the task is to estimate how the local effort has affected academic self-concept, etc. When an element is under discussion (e.g., a new tracking system that comes as part of the complex desegregation package), the issue is to disentangle the effects of other parts of the package from the effects of tracking. Sophisticated analyses of effects are predicated upon the assumption that both intended and unintended effects occur and that formal statements about intended effects are often vague or contradictory and cannot be used as the sole basis for determining the possible effects worth examining.

The next type of question concerns impacts. For convenience we define these to be effects on the social systems of which target beneficiaries are a part. The target beneficiaries of desegregation we assume to be children, and the social systems with which they interact include families, local political institutions, colleges, etc. At the level of national policy one might want to learn how desegregation has affected home prices, local political coalitions, pressure on school taxes, the growth of private schools, college education rates, etc. At the model level, one would look to see whether different models impact differently on familial, political, and economic affairs. At the district level, one would examine the same sorts of impact in a particular district. Impact analyses are usually (but not invariably) predicated upon time lags and multiply mediated causal connections, since impact depends on the flow of influence outward from the site of implementation (the school) to the site of influence (the family, the local economy, local government).

To show at any level that desegregation has particular effects or impacts does not entail explaining why the effects have come about. A distinction is involved here between causal connections and causal explanations. Almost all of us know that manipulating the switch causes the light to come on. This is knowledge of a causal connection, and it can be dependable even when one cannot causally explain the connection--manipulating the switch opens a circuit, electricity flows through, reaches the bulb, the bulb has a filament, the filament is constructed so as to..., etc. Explanatory knowledge of causal mediating processes is extremely useful because it highlights those activities within a complex desegregation package that must be present (or absent) if desired effects and impacts are to be achieved. It is also useful when no effects are observed, for then it is not clear whether the desegregation plan was theoretically flawed, whether the plan was adequate but the activities were not implemented well, or whether the plan and implementation were adequate but the evaluation was insensitive. An emphasis on causal mediating processes prompts the researcher to examine how particular achieved activities are related to particular outcomes, thereby forcing explicitness about the theory underlying the desegregation plan and sometimes revealing assumptions that extant social-science theory or professional practice strongly suggests are wrong (Chen and Rossi, 1979).

At all levels, the analysis of process is like the description of implementation; it takes us inside the proverbial black box. At the national level, a process analysis might critically consider the philosophical rationales for desegregation in a political democracy, forcing out the assumptions on which the advocacy of desegregation rests. Critical comparison is most explicit when models are compared, for these differ from each other in the theoretical underpinnings derived from social science and other forms of considered social experience. At the level of instances, the analysis of causal mediating processes is likely to concentrate on how the variables described in a district's implementation plan are causally related to each other, or on modeling how popular and institutional supports for desegregation are related to classroom practices and the development of academic self-concept, self-discipline, or whatever. A theory-informed causal analysis is at issue, just as it is when elements are under review.

A sixth type of question deals with financial costs and savings. Desegregation can entail costs, as when additional busing is required or new programs are begun in schools. But savings can also be achieved, particularly if--despite countervailing political pressures (Thurow, 1980)--school buildings can be sold and arrangement made to reduce staffing levels. Usually more important than an analysis of total cost is a budget breakdown so as to ask: Because of desegregation which changes have occurred in the percentage of the budget that is spent on A through Z, what are the new (or disappearing) sources of revenue, and on what are they spent? At the national level, a cost analysis might involve estimating the financial burdens imposed by desegregation and assessing the extent to which Federal, state, and local dollars could defray these burdens. At the model level, one might compare the cost-efficiency of the different strategies for bringing about particular outcomes, for models may differ in costs as well as educational outcomes. At the instance level, the concern is to describe what a school district saves and loses because of, say, the flow of students out of the school system. With elements, the issue is to probe what a particular element costs or what it saves relative to some other element that might be substituted for it. Cost estimation if fraught with assumptions. These should be made as explicit as possible, and often several estimates of cost and cost efficiency are called for, based upon different sets of plausible assumptions.

In the best of all possible worlds, it would be possible to achieve answers to all the types of questions explicated--questions about who is being desegregated, how desegregation is implemented, how it affects children, budgets, housing segregation, district financing, family interaction patterns, and the like. One might also learn why desegregation is having these effects.

But even so, one would not know what these results "mean," and an analysis of "meaning" or "value" is a crucial final step in comprehensive evaluations. Some results might be more credible than others. Some might appear to cast desegregation in a generally positive light and others in a more negative one. Moreover, any results with positive implications will be interpreted negatively by some influential commentators, just as findings that are generally negative in implication will be viewed positively by other stakeholders. Social-science results are rarely definitive; they are always open to honest dispute and alternative estimations of policy relevance, and they frequently make issues appear more complicated after the research than they did before it. Many scholars welcome this increase in uncertainty since it prevents premature closure. But few potential consumers of social-science research view the uncertainty with approval, for they seek consensually validated answers that have obvious action implications. But since such results rarely emerge, a major task at any level of generality is to give provisional meanings to apparently disparate research findings. Discussions about meaning need not be restricted to presumed findings, of course; they can also be about criteria for judgment. If Armor had not set up a narrowed achievement gap between the races as a major criterion for judging desegregation to be "successful," it is doubtful whether the issue of judging desegregation to be "successful" in terms of gap narrowing or absolute achievement gains by minority students would have emerged.

RELATING QUESTION TYPES AND LEVEL OF GENERALITY TO STAKEHOLDER GROUPS

The seven types of questions we have outlined differ in their relevance to each of the many groups with a stake in school desegregation. Although exceptions can probably be cited to all the generalizations that follow, it seems to us that senior members of the legislative and executive branches of government are more interested in effects and impacts, particularly those concerning white flight, achievement gains by black students, and the growth of private schools. Other types of question are of less importance, except perhaps the implementation issue of estimating the number and type of students bused.

Officials of districts that have already desegregated are less interested in effects and impacts and are more concerned with (a) implementation, especially describing the racial composition and achievements levels of schools in the district and devising means to improve cross-racial contacts in non-threatening contexts, and (b) causal analysis, discovering classroom-based procedures that promote achievement and self-discipline. Teachers are likely to be less interested in the first, but very interested in the second. Parents and local taxpayers are probably most interested in implementation issues--especially in tracking, disciplinary problems, and achievement levels--but they also want to learn about procedures that contain local costs and increase achievement.

There is probably a relationship between preferring questions of a particular type and preferring particular levels of generality. Thus, the Federal and Congressional groups that gravitate towards issues of effect and impact also tend to gravitate towards questions at a global national level. The judges and school districts that are contemplating desegregation tend to focus on models of desegregation, and they probably stress how these models can be implemented and how the causal processes specified in them apply to particular settings. The school boards and principals who have already desegregated want to identify those local elements that will be cost-efficient and will enhance the effectiveness of currently implemented activities. Local journalists and the authorities responsible for holding individual school districts accountable also look to the local level, but they tend to ask questions about ethnic ratios from school to school and from class to class, and they seek to monitor achievement levels without necessarily attributing any changes in level to desegregation.

If this analysis of stakeholders' questions and levels of generality is correct, it behooves us to aks: To which types of question and which levels of generality are quasi-experiments most relevant? If they are highly specific in their application they may speak more to the information needs of some stakeholder groups than others.

THE QUESTIONS QUASI-EXPERIMENTATION ANSWERS BEST

THE STRUCTURE OF QUASI-EXPERIMENTS

As its etymology suggests, a quasi-experiment is "almost like" an experiment. Structurally, experiments are characterized by (a) an entity of theoretical or practical interest whose status changes abruptly (the independent variable), (b) measurements made after exposure to this entity (the dependent variable), (c) a standard from which change in the measures is inferred (e.g., a pretest measurement wave and/or a control group of some kind), and (d) units that are exposed to the entity (e.g., students, classes, schools, or school districts).

In the natural sciences, many experiments are also characterized by relatively closed systems, and the researcher keeps out extraneous sources of influence by means of soundproof walls, lead-lined pipes, sterilized test-tubes, and other vacua. In the social sciences, many commentators believe that extraneous influences cannot be removed without trivializing the work. Consequently, the work occurs in more open systems, and attempts are often made to rule out alternative explanations through using random assignment to create initially similar groups that then come to differ only in the treatment (independent variable) being contrasted. If the groups subsequently differ in outcomes, the assumption is made that this difference is due to the treatment under study and not to extraneous variables, since random assignment should have distributed these extraneous variables equally across the groups being compared.

Quasi-experiments differ from experiments in that random assignment has not occurred. Otherwise, quasi-experiments have all the structural attirbutes of experiments that occur in open contexts where control through isolation is not possible. Thus, a quasi-experiment has at least one independent variable (usually designated X), at least one dependent variable (designated as O), a time frame in which observations are collected (designated by numerical subscripts to the O's, e.g., O_1, O_2,...O_n), and units that are assigned to the independent variable by a system that is not formally random, e.g., by administrative decrees which seek to reward merit or to provide extra resources to persons with special needs. But the assignment can also be by cronyism, self-promotion, or can occur on a first-come, first-served basis. It can even be haphazard without being formally random. A quasi-experiment is nothing more, then, than an experiment that occurs in a relatively open system where initial random assignment has not been achieved.

THE FUNCTIONS OF QUASI-EXPERIMENTS

The purpose of experiments is to test propositions about the causal consequences of entities that have been changed. Inferring cause requires that a dependent variable of interest has also changed, that the change in the independent variable preceded the change in the dependent variable, and that the coincidence of the two changes cannot be attributed to other forces that might have brought it about. In traditional experimentation, closed systems rule out alternative interpretations by physically keeping them out of the system of explanatory variables, or random assignment rules them out by equalizing their influence across the treatment groups under study. In quasi-experimental research, ruling out alternatives is more problematic because (a) the control and treatment groups are not equivalent in composition and compositional differences can masquarade as treatment effects, and (b) unanticipated events can intrude between measurement waves to alter the readings that are taken. If such events are noted--which is not always the case--the need then arises to unconfound the effects of the treatment and those of the unanticipated events.

The function of experiments is to probe causal connections and not causal explanations. This may seem odd, for experimentation is most prevalent in basic research in the natural sciences, and for most observers such research is quintessentially "explanatory." However, while such experiements probe whether Y occurs if X is changed abruptly, the X is (a) less obviously multidimensional than in desegregation research; and (b) deliberately chosen because it plays some crucial role in a theory, usually mediating other relationships. However, experiments do not require either treatments that seem unidimensional or a causal model of the processes that intervene between X and Y. Experiments can also be undertaken with global multidimensional treatment packages and with little formal theory about mediating process. Experiments probe if/then connections, and that is all. These connections can be as mundane and as theoretically naive as: "If I rub two dry sticks together, do sparks result?" "If television is introduced into a new locality, do crime rates go up?" "If desegregation occurs, does the achievement level of minority students increase?" In basic research, experiments are used to probe causal connections that are deliberately chosen for their theoretical explanatory power. But it is the causal connections that are tested by the structure of the experiment and not the explanation. Experiments can also be precise probes of causal connections that have little, if any, explanatory power.

WHICH STAKEHOLDERS STAND TO GAIN MORE FROM QUASI-EXPERIMENTATION?

As far as types of question are concerned, quasi-experimentation is not the most appropriate form of research for probing issues about who is desegregated, which activities actually occur in desegregated schools, which processes mediate outcomes, which financial costs and savings occur, and what the results "mean." Its relevance is most obvious with questions about effectiveness and impact, for making inferences about such matters requires assuming that there is a connection between variables and that this connection is causal.

If we turn now to levels of generality, we note that quasi-experimentation is more appropriate at the levels of national policy, model testing, and local school districts than at the level of elements. This is because many elements are involved in a desegregation plan, and it is often desirable either to probe the simultaneous operation of a set of them or to take the most crucial individual elements and introduce them to some school classes but not others. Quasi-experimentation probes the causal influence of one or very few variables, and so it is not relevant to those who want to probe the operation of a set of variables. Formal causal modeling techniques would be more appropriate. And when a single element is being studied, it is often not appropriate to do this quasi-experimentally because children or classes can be assigned at random. Quasi-experimentation is never preferred when random assignment is possible. However, one can hardly imagine school districts being randomly assigned to treatments with any frequency, so that causal issues specified at this level or higher (e.g., at the level of national policy or perhaps even models) may have to be probed quasi-experimentally.

If these speculations are correct, they incline us to ask: Whose information needs are most served by questions about effects and impacts that are asked at the levels of national policy, local school districts, and theoretical models? In terms of our prior discussion, the answer is: Federal and Congressional authorities with global oversight responsibilities, and journalists and other social commentators who wish to inform the public. The persons least served may well be judges, district officials, teachers, and parents in districts that have already desegregated. They probably require information to improve on what they are already doing or to monitor their schools. If so, their need is for descriptive data on implementation or for inferential data about the consequences of elements.

Also poorly served by an emphasis on quasi-experimentation are the school districts and judges contemplating desegregation who probably do not perceive the relevance to them of quasi-experiments that focus on outcomes and pay little attention to implementation, making it difficult for the officials to infer what model is being followed, if any. Judges and school district officials want information about implementable models and, failing this, about transferable elements that can be built into the desegregation activities of a district about to desegregate.

A third group who are suboptimally served by quasi-experiments are scholars interested in causal explanation and other forms of theory development in education or ethnic relations. Unless extensive measurement plans are added to quasi-experimental frameworks, such scholars fear that they will never get inside the black box where explanation and/or understanding are to be found.

THE NEEDED NEEDS ANALYSIS

This explanation of quasi-experimentation and the constituencies it serves highlights the utility of, first, examining what we most need to learn about desegregation and, second, probing whether quasi-experiments are the best vehicle for meeting the needs identified in the analysis. We will postpone such an analysis until we have examined the generic limitations of quasi-experimentation and the particular limitations that operate when it is used in research on school desegregation. Only when we know better what quasi-experimental desegregation can achieve at its best will we be in a position to estimate whether we can expect reliable knowledge about causal connections even in those situations where knowledge of this type is assigned a high priority.

THE LIMITATIONS OF QUASI-EXPERIMENTS

THE LIMITATIONS DEFINED

The utility of quasi-experiments largely depends on the alternatives that are available for conducting research on causal connections. The essence of quasi-experimental design is to set up structural arrangements that allow the researcher to infer what would have happened over time in the absence of a treatment. This inference is then contrasted with what actually happened when there was a treatment. The key to quasi-experimental design lies in the quality of any inferences about what the no-cause baseline would have been.

It is usually difficult to infer a reasonable no-cause baseline unless there is an untreated control group. Without this or some standard serving the same function, we cannot know whether change of the magnitude noted would have occurred anyway, perhaps because of maturation, prior test-taking, or the like. In quasi-experimental settings, it is also difficult to infer a no-cause baseline in the absence of pretest measures taken either before desegregation or at some time immediately after it began. This is because the pretest makes it easier to estimate how much change has actually occurred. When there is also a control group one can go a step further and estimate what the incremental change is in the treated group over the untreated one. The case for quasi-experimentation rests, then, on the assumption that inferential problems about causal connections are nearly always more problematic when pretest and comparison groups are absent than when they are present.

One of the major objections to quasi-experiments is to the theory of causation it assumes. In manipulating an independent variable or studying a naturally occurring event with rapid onset, one assumes that the observed consequences can be attributed to the event and not to its occurrence in a particular context. Cannot the same event have radically different consequences, critics wonder, with different kinds of persons, in different settings, at different times? Should one's ontology encompass a world organized into a relatively small number of main effects, or a world characterized by a bewildering series of intercorrected pretzels each of which specifies that X increases Y under one restricted set of conditions, that X and Y are not related under different conditions, and that they are negatively related under yet other conditions? With this second, pretzel-like ontology, contingency relationships are presumed to be much more frequent than the main effects on which most quasi-experiments prioritize.

A second objection is to the assumption that there is an X, a single independent variable. Critics point to the multivariate nature of most social interventions, and they question the utility of determining what resulted from a global intervention when we know so little about the components (or elements) that are necessary and sufficient for bringing about its effects even with the populations and settings being studied. Without knowledge of the consequences of elements, the argument goes, knowledge cannot be confidently transferred from one school to another. This argument is all the more telling because the X's are not only multifactorial; they are changeably so. Interventions change and develop with time. This means that a treatment like desegregation is a complex package that differs from site to site, and its factorial composition even changes from time to time within the same site. The second objection, then, is to the reality and utility of assuming a fixed and easily described independent variable.

A third objection is that quasi-experimental research does not even deliver the clear inferences about causal connections that it promises. As anyone can attest who has read the literature on the effects of school desegregation--much of which is quasi-experimental--important studies are usually received, not with general acceptance of the results and conclusions but with acrimonious debate about both the findings and their interpretation. Argument rages about the suitability of control groups, the adequacy of design and statistical controls for group differences in maturational rate, the validity of archived data, the outcome variables of greatest importance, etc. It would not be easy to read evaluations of school desegregation (or compensatory education or vocational training or much else) and to claim that quasi-experiments provide definitive answers to questions about causal connections.

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THESE ASSUMED GENERIC LIMITATIONS

Main Effects and Interactions

A quasi-experimental design always exists in the broader context of a research design. Quasi-experimental designs consist of the already noted structural features that are supposed to promote causal inference. Research designs deal with, among other things: (a) the types of persons, settings, and occasions to which causal conclusions are to be generalized, (b) the range and nature of dependent variables across which results are to be generalized, (c) the conceptual framework within which measurement takes place, (d) the methods used for data collection and data analysis, etc.

Conducting a quasi-experiment does not, in principle, prevent the collection of data to describe the population of students and settings, to outline the district, school, and classroom contexts in which desegregation occurs, to probe a wider range of outcomes, and to relate process variables to outcomes. With adequate prior theory and appropriate data collection and reporting, the researcher can describe many situational variables on which the effects of a particular desegregation effort are thought to depend. A measurement framework can be developed for any quasi-experiment that permits statistical interactions to be probed.

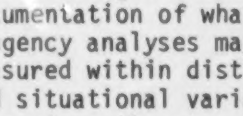
It is comforting that quasi-experimental design frameworks require sampling and measurement plans and that, with appropriate measurement, data analyses can explore some hypotheses about contingency relationships and causal mediating processes. However, this comfort has to be balanced against the reality that social research takes place under conditions of resource constraints. It is expensive to add a data collection effort designed to describe the persons and settings in which desegregation occurs, and to conduct data analyses designed to uncover statistical interactions rather than main effects. Such expenses mean lower budgets for other research tasks and might influence, say, sample sizes or the number of waves of data collected. Thus, a priority issue has to be squarely faced: How much should be spent for the quasi-experimental design that promises a causal analysis, and how much for a rich account of the persons and settings that describes contextual variables and can be used to probe possible interactions between the treatment and these variables? This issue has to be broached anew in each study, for the allocation of the research budget depends on many specific factors, e.g., the budget level, what is already known about desegregation in a particular school or district, who the major stakeholders are in the study, etc.

A second objection can be raised to enlarging the measurement framework. An endless list can be generated of personological and situational variables that might be measured. Unless good theories are available to keep the data collection and analysis within reasonable bounds, the choice of measures will be "shot-gun" and fueled by naive judgements about what "might be useful" or "make a difference." When good theory is not available, quasi-experiments are not by themselves well suited to the task of describing persons and settings and exploring how they interact with the treatment. This is because problems of sample size and multicollinearity soon loom large in the analysis-of-variance framework in which quasi-experimental data are typically analyzed, and the analyst is typically restricted to a small number of relatively atheoretical variables (e.g., gender, grade, race, school size, state in the union, percentage of students with subsidized school lunches, etc.). Even with these variables, not all are static; many will change with time, both spontaneously and because of desegregation. If so, repeated measurement of them is required for most research purposes, and this adds even more to the budget for descriptive measurement.

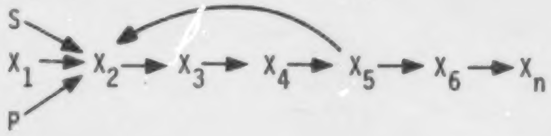
A third implication is also worth mentioning. The collection and analysis of data on personological and situational contingency variables is more feasible at some levels of generality than others. It is probably least feasible with analyses of global national policy. On the assumption that such work mostly involves the secondary analysis of locally collected data, research is necessarily restricted to the data that were originally reported. The low level of theory-based thinking in past desegregation studies makes it difficult to find districts that range widely on measured, theory-relevant, situational characteristics. Sophisticated contingency analyses are also not likely in the empirical work at the model level, for the primacy is to identify districts whose implemented activities as measured largely conform with a particular theory-based model. The analyst of models is likely to be stuck with whatever labels are given to models in reports, and there will rarely be extensive documentation of what has actually occurred at the schools in question. Contingency analyses may be more feasible in the 1980's with variables that are measured within districts and schools. But paying attention to personological and situational variables at these levels leads (albeit not inevitably) to a more micro than macro research strategy. This may or may not be desirable.

The Multidimensional, Plastic Nature of Desegregation

In discussing the way that sampling and measurement plans could be expanded for a better description of personological and situational factors, we assumed the simple model below. In it, S stands for situational factors, X for desegregation, P for personological factors, and O for outcome.



It is also plausible to conceive of models in which the global desegregation X is partitioned into elements or components. For desegregation, these might include (but not be restricted to) some characterization of race relations between students, student-teacher relations, teaching practices, the level of support for desegregation in the local press, etc. Let us call these components, X_1 through X_n, and let us assume that they can affect each other in both a direct and reciprocal causal fashion. The special situations created by desegregation can then be diagrammed as below, with the reverse arrows showing reciprocal relationships.



If a hypothetical example can be permitted, a certain kind of teacher-student interaction style (X_2) may contribute to resegregation (X_5, say). If so, such resegregation might itself affect teacher-student interaction styles, with X_5 influencing X_2. Conceptualizing desegregation as a fluid set of components is a precondition for describing what happens during desegregation and for generating causal models that "explain" how particular causal effects are mediated. Such models do not prioritize on the issues of simple causal connection for which quasi-experiments were developed. Rather they prioritize on analyses of implementation and on the causal modeling of "explanatory" micromediating processes.

In principle, nothing prevents extending the measurement framework of a quasi-experiment to collect a richer set of process data. If collected, such data can be used in conjunction with, or independently of, the basic quasi-experimental design to probe causal mediating processes. To do this, some form of structural-equation modeling or qualitative process analysis would also be required. Reciprocal influences present special problems in using such methods. So, too, do matters of reactivity if the measurement is obtrusive. Also, opportunity costs are incurred through sinking more of the research budget into measurement instead of, say, extending the sampling framework, selecting better control groups, increasing the sample size per group, or collecting another wave of data.

It would be advantageous if a grounded analysis of implemented activities preceded the conduct of a quasi-experiment. Without such an analysis the researcher is underinformed about the dependent variables worth measuring, the independent variable components worth separate examination because they may be necessary for bringing about particular effects, and the independent variables that are potentially manipulable and may have a particularly large effect on important outcomes. Intimate, "anthropological" knowledge of dynamic settings is crucial for developing grounded hypotheses about the components of complex processes that might have the most leverage and, thereby, for reducing the likelihood of designing quasi-experiments that are premature because important components are left out of the treatment being examined. It is in process analysis that some stakeholder groups see the most useful sources of leverage in formulating research questions, for such questions speak to the presumed needs of the parents and school professionals living in districts where desegregation has already occurred. Quasi-experiments only meet their needs if the studies are built upon, and separately measure, grounded and comprehensive hypotheses about causal mediating processes.

A primary emphasis on process shifts desegregation research more toward the study of local districts or elements than toward the study of national policy. It is difficult to conceive of the broad-scale sampling of districts in a national study being linked to intensive, on-site process analyses that are sensitive to how desegregation activities change over time. This is mostly a matter of realism of resources. Indeed, Cook (1981) has gone so far as to suggest that a major dilemma in the evaluation of ongoing programs follows from the conflict between the need for extensive and expensive sampling (to promote broad generalizations about transferable knowledge or nationwide impacts) and the need for intensive and expensive process analysis to understand what really happens when a new policy is introduced. The dilemma is not, in theory, necessary. In a world of infinite resources one could have one's cake and eat it through adding extensive measures to quasi-experimental design frameworks that are embedded within broad sampling frameworks. But the dilemma is real in research practice, and it pits two groups with different information needs against each other. The borad sampling framework required for national-level conclusions about effects and impacts meets the needs of stakeholder groups with responsibility for oversight, while the intensive analysis of process better meets the needs of school-level professionals.

The Inadequacy of Quasi-Experiments to Deliver What They Promise

The previously discussed limitations of quasi-experiments can all be overcome--in principle, at least--by adding to the measurement and sampling frameworks of the research designs in which a quasi-experiment is embedded. The third implication to be discussed suggests that quasi-experiments cannot even deliver the unambiguous inferences about causal connections for which they were developed.

Let me state from the outset that the critique is correct but not relevant. The critique is correct because problems of selection and history arise in research in open systems that uses intact groups which differ from each other in ways that are at best only partially understood. While the history and selection problems can be rendered less plausible by a variety of design features, statistical analyses, and research outcomes, many commentators have pointed out that the proposed remedies are not definitive (e.g., Campbell and Erlebacher, 1972; Goldberger, 1972; Cronbach et al., 1977). Consequently, with nonequivalent groups we can unwittingly under- or over-estimate effects. And even if we estimate them correctly, we would not know it!

This critique of quasi-experiments has to be judged in the context of the limitations of the other methods we currently have for promoting inferences about causal connections. Some are superior, but are rarely applicable in desegregation research. Foremost among these are the randomized experiment and designs that depend on total knowledge and perfect measurement of the selection process (e.g., the regression-discontinuity design). Other alternatives are inferior to quasi-experiments under most conditions. Although partial tests of causal connections are possible in structural-equation modeling, such techniques tend more toward measuring the strength of assumed causal connections than toward testing the connections themselves. Scriven's (1976) modus operandi method assumes that an effect is obvious and the need is to search out its unique cause. But in desegregation research the very effects that have to be clear in Scriven's method are in fact problematic. Some practitioners of qualitative methods mimic the falsificationist logic of quasi-experimentation, seeking background, observational, or logical evidence to rule out specific identified threats. But many of these threats would be ruled out "automatically" by design elements within an experimental framework, and so the armamentarium for ruling out threats is less extensive in qualitative than quantitative research. Correlation and causation are more often confused in qualitative work, as also with most multiple regression and cross-sectional methods that utilize quantitative data. The case for quasi-experimentation has to be that it is the best available alternative and not that it is a perfect alternative.

It is not helpful to conceive of quasi-experimentation as a single entity. Many quasi-experimental designs and design elements exist, some of which are more useful than others because (a) they rule out particular threats more clearly, (b) they rule out a larger number of threats, or (c) they rule out threats that occur particularly frequently. This being the case, the need is to develop ways of improving the current practice of desegregation research so that we see fewer designs that lag behind the current state of the art. We turn now to examining how the stronger points of quasi-experimental design can be built into research for testing causal hypotheses about school desegreation. After this we broach the most difficult issue of whether the types of question and levels of generality to which quasi-experimentation is most appropriate are the questions and levels about which answers are most needed at this time.

IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF QUASI-EXPERIMENTAL DESIGNS

Given that a decision has been made to test causal propositions and to use quasi-experimental designs, the next issue is to decide how they can be improved, over and above extending the measurement and sampling frameworks as already discussed. Before listing possible improvements, two general points need to be made that follow from the fact that the results of a single quasi-experiment will never be beyond legitimate criticism. One point deals with the advocacy of randomized experiments to replace quasi-experiments, and the other with the advocacy of conducting research syntheses instead of new quasi-experiments.

USING RANDOMIZED EXPERIMENTS INSTEAD OF QUASI-EXPERIMENTS

Many of the limitations of quasi-experimentation result from having groups of newly desegregated children who are compared to nonequivalent groups of children who either have been desegregated for some time or have stayed in segregated schools. Such nonequivalence has led scholars in other substantive areas to argue that greater attempts should be made to assign at random. At first glance, school desegregation would not seem to be a contender for random assignment. Yet in some cases of metropolitan desegregation, Crain and Mahard (1982) have claimed that the equivalent of a coin toss was used to determine which children should go to suburban schools. Moreover, some cities have assigned children to magnet schools at random from within racial quotas. Chicago does this, for instance (Zigulich, 1977). Other cities might also, for the demand for places in magnet schools usually exceeds the supply. Since magnet schools are supposed to facilitate integration at its best, even though each such school is unique, it might still be worthwhile compiling a list of studies of magnet schools and separately examining those with random assignment. If school desegregation has little beneficial impact under such apparently optimal school (and scientific) conditions, we might be more ready to accept that it cannot be justified at a national level in terms of results. Other justifications would have to be sought or the policy reexamined.

A third context where random assignment is sometimes feasible is in the study of elements in the desegregation process. School officials interested in promoting interracial contacts out of school can experiment with different local projects to achieve this, randomly assigning projects to classes or grade levels. Professionals interested in increasing the amount of homework that is done might randomly assign classes or grades to different sets of instructions, different forms of reward for homework, or whatever. Not all elements can be studied this way, but many can. Indeed, the study of elements is central in research on effective teaching practices, and desegregation research on elements is explicitly devoted to learning how to make schooling more effective in a desegregated context. It is not surprising to note, therefore, that many of the concepts and methods used in research on effective teaching practices can also be used in research on effective desegregation. Of these methods, one is random assignment.

Although random assignment has been used in desegregation research, its application is appropriate in only a restricted set of contexts, some of which are atypical, e.g., methropolitan desegregation and magnet schools. So, while it is fitting to note that random assignment might be used more often, it is hardly fitting to conclude that random assignment can replace quasi-experimentation.

META-ANALYSIS INSTEAD OF THE SINGLE QUASI-EXPERIMENT

In a review of the effects of desegregation on black achievement, Crain and Mahard (1982) cite over 90 studies of desegregation. These vary considerably in design. A few are randomized experiments, many are quasi-experiments, but most are non-experiments. It would be reasonable to suppose that reviewing all of these studies should permit more confident answers about school desegregation than relying on single studies, especially since Glass' (1978) work on meta-analysis.

Syntheses of the desegregation literature are, I think, badly needed at this point to illuminate the sometimes contradictory conclusions of the past. However, it is not likely that such reviews will be definitive, will make improved future studies irrelevant, or will speak with equal relevance to the needs of all stakeholders. Take, for instance, just the issue of the effects of desegregation on the achievement of black children. When studies are not stratified on methodological quality, effects appear smaller than when they are so stratified (Crain and Mahard, 1982; Wortman, 1982). Should one quibble with the methodological characteristics attributed to higher-quality studies, one might well question the conclusion from "better" studies that desegregation raises black achievement by just over one-tenth of a standard deviation unit in the year that desegregation is implemented.

Meta-analysis is not equally relevant to all the levels of analysis I earlier explicated. Being syntheses, they do not speak well to issues at the local district level unless multiple studies have been conducted within a particular district. But that is a rare event, and most meta-analyses sum across districts. The stakeholders interested in a particular school district will still need improved individual studies. Moreover, I am not impressed in the meta-analyses to date with the quality of inferences about causal mediating processes, largely because conclusions of this type depend on well-specified theories and on comparable measures being collected across studies. Causal inferences about models are also not likely at this time, for they depend on the availability of rich implementation data in each district or school. Such data are rare in local-level evaluations. It is for causal questions about national policy that meta-analysis is most relevant, for such questions absolutely require a gross picture summed across many different local instances.

Finally, we must be critical in assessing the validity of the most fundamental assumption of meta-analysis: that the average bias across all studies is zero. This assumption cannot be directly tested. However, a test is often approximated either by contrasting the results of randomized experiments with those of other studies or by contrasting the results of "better-designed" quasi-experiments with those of studies of lower methodological quality. This strategy is most relevant to bias from threats to internal validity. Even then, it is not always feasible to achieve unbiased estimates. Some substantive domains exist where randomized experiments are rarely, if ever, possible and where the usual methods may be subject to a constant direction of bias. Director (1978) has argued this for job-training programs. There are other domains where the "better" studies are only better because of special circumstances that render them problematic as comparisons with the major body of research. This may be the case with desegregation, where (a) the randomized experiments involve magnet schools or methropolitan-wide desegregation, and (b) the better quasi-experiments may be associated with school districts that are as compulsive in their commitment to high-quality desegregation as to high-quality research on desegregation. Thus, in cases where the better studies differ from others in their estimates of a treatment effect--as Crain and his colleagues suggest is the case with school desegregation--one cannot be sure whether the difference is due to better methods or to special circumstances related to the districts and schools that conduct better research.

More telling than these comments is the reality that meta-analysis is irrelevant to constant biases in other validity domains. Consider the examples that follow. If all the studies of the effects of television viewing on children's violence use peer or teacher ratings of violence, we could not generalize the findings to the types of violence that most concern legislators, parents and others. If desegregation studies consistently measure achievement, but few measure interracial contact, then we can only synthesize studies with respect to achievement. If the studies consistently measure the achievement of blacks but not Hispanics, then constant biases render meta-analysis irrelevant to the examination of how desegregation affects Hispanics.

The upshot of this is the conclusion that, although meta-analytic studies are extremely useful at this point in desegregation research--in part because they reduce the dependence on individual studies that are inevitably flawed in many ways--they do not preclude the need for better designed individual studies. Indeed, meta-analysis requires such studies in order to approximate a test of the crucial assumption of zero average bias and to examine a truly heterogeneous set of validity concerns.

UNACCEPTABLE MEANS OF GENERATING THE NO-CAUSE BASELINE

The major difficulty in quasi-experimental research consists in the conceptual and operational specification of a no-cause baseline. In desegregation research, we presume that the stakeholders usually want to know how being desegregated has changed individuals and institutions, when compared to how they would have been if they were still segregated. The operational problem is that we have no direct measure of what would have happened to newly desegregated children if they had remained in their segregated school.

In some studies, the basic design used to evaluate desegregation has been to compare recently desegregated children in a single school district at a single point in time either with children of the same race who have always been desegregated or with children of the same race who stayed segregated. This cross-sectional design fails to measure directly how children have changed, and it inevitably confounds effects of desegregation with differences between the types of children in each of the schools being compared. An attempt is usually made to circumvent the problem of group nonequivalence by statistically partialling out the effects of effect-correlated variables that discriminate between the nonequivalent groups. While this procedure normally reduces selection bias, it only eliminates it in the unlikely case where the selection model is completely specified and is not subject to measurement error. For all the above reasons, I do not advocate designs with a single wave of measurement and two or more nonequivalent groups, however comprehensive the measurement of background characteristics and however detailed the statistical analysis of how group differences are related to outcomes.

When a district desegregates it is often the case that no minority children remain in segregated schools, and there are few minority children who lived close to a racially mixed neighborhood and so have always attended desegregated schools. When this happens it is not possible to have a contemporaneous control group of minority children, and so the analysis is usually restricted to a comparison of the behavior of children before and after they were desegregated. Such a comparison allows changes to the directly measured, but it is usually not clear to what extent the observed changes would have taken place even without desegregation. For this reason, simple before-after designs are problematic (Cook and Campbell, 1979).

However, a no-cause baseline is sometimes inferred from the nature of the measures. In pretest-posttest designs with standardized measures of achievement, change scores are sometimes expressed as changes in percentile rankings. An increase in rankings is interpreted to mean that desegregation has been effective, and a decrease that it has been ineffective. In this method, the scores of newly desegregated children are in essence compared to those of the (presumably desegregated) children on whom the test was normed. Thus, a change from the 25th to the 30th percentile assumes a "control group" of students relative to when the desegregated children improve over time.

However, the method is not trustworthy, largely because the tests in question were normed using largely middle-class children, whereas the children desegregated are often poorer and score lower on the tests. The intervals at the lower end are not well-calibrated and violate the equal-interval assumption required by most tests of the statistical significance of changes. In other words, a small shift in the raw scores can make a larger difference in percentiles at the lower end of a scale than elsewhere. In addition, the use of percentiles does not get around the conceptual problem that the observed change may be due to local factors that occurred at the same time as school desegregation.

MORE ACCEPTABLE METHODS OF APPROXIMATING A NO-CAUSE BASELINE

Among theorists of quasi-experimentation two strategies are usually advocated for creating better no-cause baselines. The simultaneous use of pretests and control groups, and the use of a longer series of pretest observations. We now discuss each of these in turn.

Nonequivalent Control Group Design with Pretest and Posttest

The most frequently used quasi-experimental design involves a treatment group measured before and after the treatment is implemented and a control group measured in the same way at the same times. In this design it is imperative that the pretest and posttest measures be collected on the same scale or on alternative forms of the same scale. Sometimes, the pretest measures come from the same children who provide data and can be collected at the end of the school year preceding desegregation. However, meeting these requirements often forces a dependence on archival measures, with a consequent overemphasis of achievement.

To counteract this--and to get around the many logistical problems associated with collecting data in the spring before desegregation--pretest measures are often taken in the fall of the first year after desegregation. These fall pretest scores are then compared to scores in the spring of the same school year. In this case, it is not advisable to measure soon after the new school year begins in the fall, for much is chaotic and novel then. But delying measurement reduces the time period during which effects can be manifest and includes in the pretest some post-desegregation activities that should really be only in the posttest. Consequently, effects of desegregation will be underestimated if the pretest data collection is delayed too long. It is imperative to gather pretest data as soon as school activities have become routinized.

When the classic pretest-posttest design is used with nonequivalent groups, two different forms of control are possible. One consists of the children of the same race who were desegregated prior to formal desegregation. The second of children who remained segregated after their peers were desegregated.
The first of these groups is likely to be composed of children who are more economically advantaged than newly desegregated children. This is because children who were desegregated prior to formal desegregation are more likely to live in, or immediately adjacent to, majority children. Being more advantaged, the control children are also likely to outperform the newly desegregated on many outcome measures, including achievement at both the pretest and the posttest. On the other hand, the control group of children who were not desegregated when some of their peers were would be more disadvantaged than the newly desegregated if (a) the parents who succeed in having their children bused to the suburbs in a metropolitan context place a higher value on educa-

tion, or (b) the teachers and administrators who select, or encourage, children to go to suburban schools choose the most academically promising, leaving behind children who they think would do less well in suburban schools.

Whatever the pattern of initial nonequivalence between newly desegregated children and controls of the same race, the reality remains that any observed differences in the equivalence of pretest-posttest gain scores may be due, not to desegregation per se, but to maturational differences between the nonequivalent groups. When the control group is composed of the already desegregated, we would expect them to gain at a faster rate on most measures when compared to the newly desegregated. This should result in a bias to make desegregation look harmful. Where the control group consists of those passed over for desegregation, we presume that the bias operates in the opposite direction and makes desegregation appear more successful than it really is.

A number of techniques exist for dealing with the bias associated with nonequivalence. When it is assumed that the nonequivalent groups would be drawing apart at a constant rate, analysis of covariance will adjust for differences in growth rates, provided that some statistical adjustment is made for unreliability in the measures (Campbell and Boruch, 1975). A second technique depends on estimating from the pretest data what the expected pretest-posttest growth would have been in each group and then testing whether the difference between the expected and obtained is different for the newly desegregated than for thier controls. Cook et al. (1975) have presented one way of doing this, and Bryk and Wisberg (1977) have suggested related techniques.

To these data analytic techniques we have to add a sampling one. Many researchers match the newly desegregated children with others who remain segregated or have always been desegregated. This reduces the initial differences between treatment groups, but it can be dangerous because of the possibility of differential statistical regression. That is, each group is regressing toward different posttest means, with the control group especially regressing toward their higher grand mean (when the controls are children who were always desegregated) or toward their lower grand mean (when the controls are children who remain segregated). The way to get around this problem and take advantage of matching is to use variables that are related to the dependent variable but are not more highly correlated in their ranks with the pretest than the posttest. The extreme case of poor matching is where there are matches at the pretest on the dependent variable being examined. Then the correlation between pretest scores and rank is inevitably unity and, because of regression, will be less at the posttest, leading to a spurious substantive conclusion. When done judiciously, matching is a help because it increases power and reduces bias. When done injudiciously, it leads to predictably false conclusions.

Pretest Time Series and Retrospective Cohort Designs

It is often the case that desegregation takes place in settings where few children were desegregated prior to formal desegregation and where few remain segregated afterwards. In such settings it is not possible to achieve either of the control groups mentioned above. One option in this situation is to use some form of a grade cohort design in which performance in a particular grade is compared across the years before and after formal desegregation. Obviously, the design is restricted to contexts where a whole district is largely segregated and then becomes totally desegregated and to measures that are routinely collected and made available: achievement, enrollment, and perhaps attendance data.

Grade cohort designs typically take the form of an abbreviated interrupted time series. This means comparing, say, Grade 1 means for several years prior to desegregation and then at the end of the first year of desegregation. Any discontinuity from the apparent trend prior to desegregation becomes a potential effect of desegregation. This design has been used in studies of "white flight," with enrollment at each grade level as the dependent variable. However, compositional shifts in enrollment can masquerade as effects when studying other potential outcomes (e.g., the achievement of minority children), and one can attribute to desegregation an effect that is due to differences in the kinds of children attending school after formal desegregation. Descriptive checks of the background of children can help assess the plausibility of this threat. If the possibility of compositional shifts is deemed plausible, an attempt can then be made to restrict the analysis to the types of children who did not leave the school system when desegregation occurred. Alternatively, one can attempt to model the reasons for leaving the system and introduce this model into the analysis in the hope of statistically adjusting for the sudden shift in school attendance that occurred when desegregation began.

The grade cohort design under discussion also fails to account for the influence of other factors that changed at about the time desegregation occurred and that could have affected outcomes. The researcher should be as close as possible to what occurred _during_ the desegregation period and so should be in a position to know of district-wide events that happened in the crucial years. For many events it would be unrealistic to postulate that they should affect all grades equally. For instance, the introduction of the television show "Electric Company" might affect the early grades but not later ones; the introductions of new courses at a local YMCA might affect later grades but not earlier ones. For this reason, cohort designs should seek to cover a wide range of grades rather than be restricted to a few.

In the foregoing discussion, grade cohorts were used to obtain the equivalent of a series of pretest observations. It is also possible, and desirable, to yoke this feature to the comparison of children of the same race from a comparable but nonequivalent school district that has not yet desegregated. Then, one can compare how a particular grade fared in each district prior to desegregation, and one can contrast any differences between them with the magnitude of differences pertaining afterwards.

Even more desirable is the use of control districts which themselves come at a later date to be desegregated. Then, one achieves the equivalent of an "interrupted time series design with switching replications" (Cook and Campbell, 1979). That is, at an early date the district that desegregates first serves as the experimental group, and the district that desegregates later serves as the control. However, at a later date when the original "control" district has desegregated, it comes to serve as the experimental district. If the first district has stabilized by then, after its earlier desegregation, it switches and becomes the control setting. Studying city by city fluctuations in enrollment, and relating them to city by city fluctuations in when desegregation began is the preferred method for studying "white flight"--a method that obviously depends on having some cities with lengthy pre-desegregation time series so that time trends can be reliably inferred. One of the difficulties in the "white flight" literature has, in fact, been relatively short series that inspired little confidence in extrapolations that were made as to what enrollments would have been in the absence of desegregation.

Sibling cohort designs seem rarely used in desegregation research. Yet for many purposes it is instructive to compare the performance of siblings when they were of the same age, especially if one was in a segregated school for all the years under study and the other was in a segregated school for only some of them. To make this clearer, imagine a school district that desegregates in September, 1975. Imagine children with younger siblings who attend schools in the district, being in grade 1 in September, 1971, and grade 5 by September, 1975. Imagine siblings who are, on the average, two years younger. These would be in grades 1 through 3 prior to desegregation but in grades 4 and 5 afterwards. A comparison of the siblings' scores in grades 1 through 3 establishes the degree of nonequivalence due to birth order and the unique historical events experienced by any one cohort. This nonequivalence is likely to be less in magnitude than the nonequivalence between unrelated children since, on the average, siblings share similar (but not totally identical) home and genetic environments. However, after grades 4 and 5 the siblings differed in whether or not they attended desegregated schools, and the analyst could test whether the difference between them in these grades differed from the difference between them in earlier grades.

Such a sibling cohort design is not free from validity threats. For instance, any observed effect might be due to extraneous events occurring in the year when the cohort of younger siblings became desegregated. Yet relatively few such alternatives can be invoked, and some of them lack plausibility. Perhaps the major problem with a sibling cohort design is feasibility. It takes a large school district with good records to be able to collect enough data for the computation of sensitive estimates and powerful tests of statistical significance. Still, it is often possible to aggregate across siblings who at the start of data collection differ in both grade level and the period between births, i.e., one, two, three or more years apart. My guess is that sibling cohort designs have been underexplored in desegregation research.

The limitations of cohort and sibling designs need brief mention. When a district is heavily segregated and then becomes totally desegregated, there is no possiblity of a stable contemporaneously measured within-district control group. Unless a control district can be found, archives have to be used to create a retrospective pretest or control group. School archives will usually contain achievement data from annual testings and, of course, information about who is enrolled. But it is a meager list of variables in light of the many immediate and delayed effects that can happen in schools because of desegregation. A second limitation concerns the specification of causal lags. It is possible to collect post-test data before an effect has had the chance to manifest itself, leading to the false conclusion of no effect when, in fact, a longer delay interval could have indicated the effect in question. There is little that can be done about this except to call for better theory, more extensive data collection, and judicious and conditional conclusion-drawing when no effects are detected.

WHAT DO WE NEED TO KNOW ABOUT SCHOOL DESEGREGATION?

When adequate designs are successfully implemented and results interpreted in terms of prior research, quasi-experiments can lead to reasonable, albeit still corrigeable, conclusions about causal connections. For many practical reasons the causal connections are particularly likely to involve enrollment and achievement. But with luck, foresight, and a chance to create the appropriate control groups, data can be collected on other possible outcomes of desegregation, including attitudes, prejudice, racial interaction patterns, and teacher behaviors and expectations. The fundamental issue is whether the need for information about causal connections is as pressing as the need for other types of information about desegregation.

I am aware of no formal needs analyses concerning school desegregation, especially analyses where the starting point is the needs of children rather than other stakeholder groups. My own prior analysis suggested that quasi-experimental knowledge about the results of desegregation as national policy probably serves the information needs of Congressional officials and senior level federal officials. At present, the consensus about questions at this level seems to be that, as implemented, desegregation (1) puts minority children into more contact with children of majority background, (2) does not lower the achievement of minorities, and may even raise it to a small degree, (3) does not affect the achievement of whites to any appreciable positive or negative degree, (4) accelerates the movement of whites out of public schools, (5) sometimes causes initial cross-racial discipline problems; if busing is used, (6) disproportionately involves black students, and (7) is unpopular with both black and white parents but is more likely to be tolerated as a necessary evil by the former. Many other outcomes are in an even greater state of uncertainty than those listed above. But I think these are the commonly held beliefs of the present concerning desegregation. They have been partially molded by research results and reflected appraisal on desegregation experiences.

Do we have reason from research results to question this consensus? Even though some commentators are skeptical about some of the conclusions above, I am not aware of evidence arguing the opposite of any of the conclusions themselves. I am also not aware of powerful voices arguing that questions about desegregation remain unanswered that are important for immediate decision-making by Congress and senior federal officials. In short, I believe that the persons most interested in national policy--and the persons to whom quasi-experimentation is most relevant--are not now expressing a need to learn more about the causal consequences of our national policy of desegregation. For these reasons, I am not prepared to conclude a need is felt for more infromation about the consequences of desegregation as a global policy. And given the heterogeneous nature of the American educational structure, my own belief is that it would be hard to justify a high priority for any questions about consequences that aggregate across school districts that have desegregated in so many different ways.

The case is stronger that information is needed about the consequences of models of desegregation. Although there is little political momentum to increase desegregation in 1982, there may be more in the future. The task then will be to design or adopt those theoretical frameworks for desegregation that seem most successful in fostering the particular outcomes that judges and school boards most want to attain. If there were general models, we would at least know which of the approaches of the past seem least reasonable and which seem better bets. Note here that the issue is to use research findings on models to steer desegregation efforts in a general direction rather than to use them as blueprints for specific acts.

The problem is that research on the consequences of models presupposes (1) well-conceptualized models, which we do not seem to have at present, except perhaps for the distinction between "integration" and "desegregation," (2) evidence that behaviors commensurate with the models are regularly implemented, and (3) evidence that their implementation is transferable and not limited to highly specific and rare contexts. The last point is important.

While sampling for instances where a particular model has been implemented well facilitates a test of the model at its best, this provides no guarantee that the model can often be implemented well. A case in point is magnet schools, some of which have at least five times the resources per pupil as regular city schools, have volunteer teachers who want desegregation to work, and have children of all racial groups whose parents are among the most committed to desegregation. Such conditions facilitate strong tests of the particular model built into a particular magnet school (or set of such schools), but the conditions that make for theoretically strong tests also make for an ecologically invalid test. This is not to deny the utility of carefully interpreted evaluations of magnet schools. If a model does not work well there when implementation may be at its best, it is not likely to be effective when implemented at its most typical. Our point, rather, is that the more useful models are those that are presumptively (or by nature of replication, demonstrably) transferable, and to be transferable requires knowledge of implementation and results from more than just a few special schools or school districts. Realistically, the need for information about the consequences of models is of potential future importance. But the likelihood is low that such information will be available soon.

The need to establish the causal consequences of desegregation in a local district is felt mostly by local persons, but is probably secondary to other needs they have. While a need exists to report to local parents how desegregation has affected attendance, achievement, and race relations, to local judges this need is secondary to establishing the racial mix in schools or classrooms. To principals the need for knowledge of effects is secondary to inferring how to manage newly desegregated schools better. For teachers the major need is for knowledge about how to modify their teaching to take account of the new atmosphere and the new groups of children that desegregation entails. Such stakeholders are probably better helped (1) by studies of implementation and process than by studies of discrete causal effects and impacts, and (2) by studies that prioritize on elements that can be modified rather than on the global mix of elements provided at the level of school districts or schools.

Meeting the major needs of these stakeholders presumes an intimate knowledge of the events that take place within schools, for a profound understanding of what we are calling the "desegregation situation." If achieved, this understanding could have a second payoff, beyond helping the above stakeholders. If situations of a particular kind are regularly associated with particular outcomes, one can then inductively infer models with particular situational characteristics that seem more or less promising. This would then meet the need for information about models that we previously identified as pressing.

However, many difficulties beset research that prioritizes on situations. Conceptually, there is the problem of defining a "situation" and establishing guidelines to choose the situational variables worth most attention. Methodologically, there is nearly always a problem in establishing with confidence the crucial causal links between particular situations and outcome variables of interest. It is one thing to observe specific events and to call them situational; it is quite another to infer how these events influence attitudes, achievement, attendance, etc. at a later date. Politically, there is also the problem that the stakeholders with most immediate power to influence research priorities are those who are "accountable" in terms of outcomes and not process, and who probably want information about causal connections at a macro level rather than answers about causal processes at a more micro level. Moreover, some of these powerful stakeholders may be skeptical of the long term research agenda implied by a focus on situations, especially if the focus is accompanied by the rhetoric of achieving a full understanding of what goes on in desegregated schools. Such understanding takes much time and may smack to some commentators of university professors' promoting their own interests, for disciplinary knowledge usually prioritizes on full understanding rather than the identification of manipulanda which, if changed, can make some difference in an important outcome.

It must be stressed that studies of implementation and causal process can be built into quasi-experiments once consciousness is raised about the need for such information. This is done by measuring the relevant implementation and process constructs or by adding less structured observational tools to the quasi-experimental design framework. Also, quasi-experiments can be used to gain another type of needed infromation--on the causal effects of individual elements. To do this in a study where the treatment is a global package, the elements have to be conceptualized and separately measured; to do it where a single element is manipulated needs only a quasi-experimental framework. The problems with expanding the range of quasi-experiments are practical and not theoretical. Will the resources be available to add an expanded measurement framework to a quasi-experiment? If one studies individual elements, why do this quasi-experimentally when many elements will lend themselves to randomized experiments and when, if the need for feedback is more pressing, the elements can be evaluated qualitatively using on-site observational methods and critical common sense?

Although quasi-experiments are not necessarily antogonistic to a focus on situational implementation and causal process, I suspect that they are probably less efficient for this than other frameworks. If so, the upshot is clear; if the more pressing needs are those of the stakeholder groups that want information about manipulable and effective elements that can be used to improve performance in local schools that have already desegregated or may do so soon, then quasi-experiments may not be the most efficient way of achieving such knowledge. They are much better suited to knowledge of causal connections at the national, model, or district level where the causal force is understood globally as "desegregation" rather than its constituent elements.

If a primacy is placed at this time on learning either about the complex situations that arise in schools once desegregation occurs or about particular manipulable elements that might improve school outcomes at the local level, this could be interpreted as testimony to the power of quasi-experiments to achieve what they are supposed to. I have assumed (and described) a consensus that may currently exist about what desegregation achieves in terms of achievement, attendance, and immediate intergroup relations. Much of this information--as unspecific as it is in its magnitude estimates--has come from synthesizing quasi-experimental results. Without this consensus it would not be easy to suggest that, at present, the major need is to conduct research that gives judges, principals, teachers, and parents information about how to improve desegregated settings and how to design settings for newly desegregated children. Without this consensus, we might still be asking: Does desegregation lower the achievement of whites? Does it lower the achievement of blacks? Does it radically escalate intergroup prejudice?

Rarely are these questions asked today. Most people seem to believe that, even though desegregation may accelerate white flight and be disappointing in its positive achievements, it is nonetheless not having negative consequences for children who stay in desegregated schools, over and above the real inconveniences associated with extra travel time for some students. Were the possibility of negative outcomes more salient in "public consciousness," the need for quasi-experiments would be greater. But it may be partly because of quasi-experiments that the possibility of negative outcomes for children is not politically salient. In light of these considerations, it may now be time to probe issues of causal process and the causal consequences of elements, to each of which tasks quasi-experimentation is relevant but may be less efficient than other methods.

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PART V

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONVERGENCES

THEMES AND PROBLEMS IN RESEARCH
ON THE DESEGREGATION SITUATION

Herbert H. Hyman

INTRODUCTION

In defining the task of "critical synthesis" assigned me, I am guided by the organizers' original instructions.

First, I was asked "to establish linkages" between the papers. In some instances clear or incipient connections exist between various papers, and all I need do is describe a link more emphatically. In other instances, I have the difficult task of creating missing links that could join portions of disparate papers. To steal an idea from one of the contributors, Granovetter, some papers are joined by strong ties; others only by weak ties. Weak ties, of course, are less comforting to a synthesizer than to Granovetter. The lesser attention given to some papers in this synthesis means that they are no less excellent in my judgment, but simply that their connections are weaker. To put it another way, they stand on their own in splendid isolation, not resting for their merit on the foundations other writers have provided.

Second, I was also asked "to draw out the procedural implications of these papers for further work." Read and note a strange incongruity. Although the papers often, but not always, are specific about procedures--in the narrow sense of instruments--they often are vague about which respondents should be measured. And when they tilt the reader toward one particular group, another group of respondents might be an equally good or better choice, or desirable to include as well in the inquiry. Given its importance and complexity, the choice of sites to represent some set of situational variables also deserved more elaborate review in the papers. As the writers often make clear, small sites, such as classrooms, are imbedded in larger sites, schools, which are imbedded in still larger sites, neighborhoods and cities. The situation of a respondent, depending on age and freedom of movement, is shaped in some degree by this nest of sites, and each environing site has a structure and history and ecology which shape the smaller site it surrounds. The opportunities and problems this creates for investigators called for more attention. The art of inquiry is elevated by the investigator who chooses sites, respondents, and instruments wisely. By emphasizing the tri-partite character of procedures, we can do more to cultivate the art. I shall comment occasionally on omissions in the discussion of procedures. However, such omissions in some papers or their almost exclusive concerns with theoretical questions make it difficult to draw out their procedural implications. Correspondingly, they may receive less attention from me. Such papers are none the less excellent in enlarging our thinking, even if they do not always add to our repertory of research procedures.

Third, I must take note of the explicit instruction to be "critical" in my synthesis. In the main, I shall be complimentary, since the papers in my judgment deserve high praise. Most of my criticisms are gentle and trivial, but if a harsh note creeps in occasionally, blame my instructions.

Fourth, the "desegregation situation," suggested by the organizers as the keynote theme for the papers, will also guide me. Here I will stress an historical dimension, often neglected in the papers. Except for those so young as to be devoid of past experience, so aptly called Innocenti in Italian, the present school desegregation situation is but the latest in a string of varied situations they have experienced, either because they have moved around from site to site, or because the site in which they have long been contained has changed character over time. And they may know or believe that their future situation or chain of situations will be different. Participants' definitions of their current situation surely must reflect the past situations they have experienced and the future situations they envision. William James (1890: 606) said it so well: "Our consciousness never shrinks to the dimensions of a glow-worm spark. The knowledge of some other part of the stream, past or future, near or remote, is always mixed in with our knowledge of the present thing."

To create unity out of the multiplicity of ideas presented in these elaborate, richly detailed papers is not possible--even when aided by the key concept, the situation. Readers are bound to sense new opportunities for many fruitful varieties of research and to learn ways to improve their current research, but some may become bewildered. I shall try to impose some order, albeit not unity, by placing the papers, metaphorically, on a map of the large domain of problems. One coordinate of the map is temporal, the researches proposed in various papers sometimes focusing on a limited life segment--usually the child's present, very occasionally extending back into the past or on into the future. The other coordinate is spatial, the research varying in reference to independent variables that are distal or proximal to the subject, macroscopic or microscopic, and to a swath of effects or to one specific effect of schooling. Some of the papers flow over large areas of the map, transcending regions in the domain; others can be pinpointed. In regions of the map that turn out to be empty, despite the wealth of ideas in the papers, and where I sense potential wealth waiting for exploration, I will point the reader in that direction. In the process I may add to the confusion. Readers may wonder in what direction to move, be trying to move in all directions at once in order to cover the total domain, or be stopped dead in their tracks by the extent of the domain. So, I will end on a note about research strategy, thus hoping to move inquiry forward and knowing that its art has been advanced by the inspiring ideas of the writers.

I shall treat the papers one at a time, occasionally in pairs, my modest synthesis taking shape gradually in the form laid down by the instructions. Since I shall stress the linkages between papers, the risk inherent in my mode of presentation--that they will be seen as discrete, disconnected contributions--is reduced.

In addition, a few basic ideas stimulated by the instructions are applied to all the papers, thus tying them together with a common thread. So that the reader will follow that thread throughout the discussion, I introduce the main ideas briefly now and elaborate them later. As mentioned in prefatory note 4, the theme of the conference--the desegregation situation--became enlarged in my thoughts to include an historical dimension. This then sensitized me to the personal history of children, to the sequence of past school situations they might have experienced as a result of geographical mobility which must be taken into account in examining the effects of schooling. Their time perspectives, the perceived duration of their present situation and their anticipations of a sequence of future situations, also came to mind as a temporal dimension of the situation that must be measured in studying the effects of schooling.

As I located the many suggestions for research in the papers on my metaphorical map, it became clear that there was a great density in one important region but a severe sparcity in another region also important to explore. Many dependent variables, effects of desegregated school situations--especially long-term effects--had been lost to sight in the exhaustive concentration on independent variables. My concern to redress the imbalance entered into my treatment of all the papers.

In considering feasible procedures needed to explore long-term effects and to describe the sequence of situations children have experienced and their time perspectives, and the procedural implications of the papers (point 2 of my instructions), I have stressed throughout my synthesis the idea of combining phenomenological inquiry and special adaptations of survey method. That common thread, and my recurrent attention to the choice of sites and respondents, add continuity to my presentation.

The order in which I have presented the papers is only one of several logical arrangements. The papers presented first are no better in my general estimation than those presented later. They do serve, however, as better vehicles for introducing my general ideas quickly, elaborating them, and then keeping them in the forefront of the discussion. Since those first papers carry the bulk of my synthesis, the treatment of later papers, understandably is much briefer.

ROSE: ECOLOGIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC APPROACHES TO SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Rose's admirable paper sets the stage. It is fundamental for our problem and surely should advance inquiry by emphasizing demography and ecology. As he stresses in analyzing the situation, the composition of the school-age population of a city or area--considering its Hispanic and Asian as well as black and white groups and their class composition--and the spatial concentrations of such groups create ambiguity in defining the state of school segregation. They are also basic to understanding the ease or difficulty of achieving desegregation and determine the measures more or less palatable (e.g., busing) that authorities devise to remedy the problem. The opportunities for interracial interaction, friendships--in the focus of other papers--are regulated ultimately by demographic-ecological factors. And I add, outside of school as well as inside, especially for young children whose spatial arena is small and close to home. These matters are treated with sophistication, technically and theoretically. The ability of various statistical tools, "dissimilarity" and "segregation" indices and "exposure rates," to describe opportunity for interaction and the methodological problems of distinguishing the effects of policy versus ecology on school imbalances are carefully examined.

Other papers share the same high standards of technical and theoretical sophistication. Rose's paper, however, provides a dramatic and comforting contrast in one respect which I urged in my preface. History--the changing demographic and ecological situation--is brought into the picture in vivid and concrete ways, thus revealing a sad and ironic fact. The slow pace of the courts versus the rapidity of demographic changes carrying large concentrations of black and ethnic groups into Northern cities and large numbers of whites out to the suburbs may make a once-appropriate remedy for school segregation out-of-date by the time it is enacted. Take the example of Los Angeles, the site of our conferences. In 1963 when the case of a black child wanting to attend an all-white school near her home rather than the all-black school across town was filed, the composition of the population involved was 70% white, 20% black, and 9% Hispanic. By 1978 when the first remedy was enacted, the area had become 27% white. By 1981, the composition was 21% white, 14% black, 56% Hispanic, and 9% Asian, and the two schools involved in the case had become Hispanic.

Rose's paper suggests that the theme of the conference, the desegregation situation, should not be interpreted literally. Authorities and adults certainly, other participants probably, are influenced by their awareness of a sequence of past and future situations. Some may even operate with William James' (1890: 608) notion of "the specious present" which "has melted in our grasp, fled ere we could touch it, gone in the instant of becoming," thus reducing the potency of the present situation. Others may be dancing to a slower tempo of change, thus being more responsive to the present situation. Whatever the perceived tempo, many must share Rose's vision that the future may reverse the direction of the past, "as the judiciary rethinks its position; as Congress perenially attempts to pass legislation that would bring desegregation efforts to a halt; and as various subpopulations express their disenchantment with using busing to achieve desegregation." Some may see that new future direction as unswerving, unending or long-lasting; others may see it as short-lived. The varied memories and perceptions of a succession of situations which modify the effect of a discrete desegregation situation could be explored in the phenomenological surveys Rosenberg recommends in his paper. That procedural implication of Rose's paper and link to Rosenberg will be reviewed later.

Other papers also deal with aspects of the situation that are central to their topics in powerful, analytical ways, but in a contrasted style abstracted from events, stripped of topical content. The headlines in the newspapers, the omens of change which, as James noted, are part of the stream of consciousness of participants seem set aside by the writers as they pursue their analyses.

If changes in the racial composition of the population, which Rose presents in the aggregate for cities and regions, were to be presented in another fashion, the implications for other papers would be sharper. The net changes, as he notes, reflect to some extent differential birth rates, but mainly *migration* (I assume differential death rates can be ignored). What is implied is a *personal history* of millions of individual children moving from one school situation to another, perhaps through many different kinds of schools and cumulative experience with various kinds of segregated and desegregated situations. Within a *single year*, 1968-69, for example, a million-and-a-half children (aged 5-17) moved to a different state; another million-and-a-half children moved to a different county within the same state (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1970). Sum such figures over the twelve-year school career, make some gross adjustments for duplication and the bedevilled children chronically on the move, and you still end up with many millions of children whose school situations were not static. Indeed, using refined techniques, census statisticians estimated that the average American moves *three times* in the course of childhood (Long and Noertlein, 1976).

Such evidence of geographical mobility during childhood surely is suggestive, but does not establish exactly how much change in *segregation* children experience in the course of their mobile school careers. However, the National Longitudinal Survey of samples of black and white members of the high school class of 1972 asked the seniors to report the racial composition of their twelfth-grade class, and (retrospectively) their first-, sixth-, and ninth-grade classes. Trent has provided me with special tabulations on the sequences of classroom situations that black cohort experienced at the four stages of the school career.[1] If one were guided only by their current (1972) situation (the product of institutional trends and geographical mobility), one would overrate their long-run experience with desegregation and underrate the variety of sequences among the cohort and the oddity of the patterns some had experienced.

We present only some of the patterns of experience, but enough to establish our major points. For these purposes, we have defined a desegregated classroom situation for a black student as being a class that is 50% or more white. Using a different cutting point, of course, would change the magnitudes of those who had experienced desegregation at a particular stage but would not change the basic finding of complex sequences. Although 39% of the national sample of that black cohort were at that point in a desegregated twelfth-grade class, only 6% of the sample had experienced desegregation at *all* four stages of their school career. For 17% of the sample, the twelfth-grade current experience was but a brief and late encounter with desegregation in the classroom, their first-, sixth-, and ninth-grade schooling having taken place in a segregated class. Although 11% had substantial experience with desegregation while in high school, having been in a desegregated class in both the ninth and twelfth grade, their earlier experiences had been in a segregated class in both the first and sixth grade. Only 3% had been in a desegregated class throughout the three grades, sixth, ninth, and twelfth, after starting out in a first-grade segregated class. A tiny number--about 1%--had oscillating, perhaps jarring, patterns of experience: for example, first grade desegregated, then segregation in the sixth and ninth grade, then a return to desegregation in the twelfth grade, or first grade segregated then desegregation in the sixth, then a return to segregation in the ninth and finally desegregation in the twelfth grade. Although 61% were currently in a segregated twelfth-grade class, that should not be taken to suggest that they had no previous experience with desegregated schooling. The group who had experienced segregation at all four stages of their career was 51% of the sample.

For those students, black or white, who go on to college where once again they may experience segregation or desegregation, the extended sequences of situations may become even more variegated. Braddock (1980), by an ingenious design and analysis, has documented for blacks a "perpetuation of segregation across levels of education," those attending segregated colleges being more likely to have come from segregated high schools. However the magnitude of the association implies that many experienced inconsistent situations at these two stages of their schooling. And Trent (1982) has shown that the effect of the current, collegiate situation on the political efficacy and political participation of young adult blacks is contingent upon the desegregation experienced at an earlier stage in the sequence.

Such studies of young adults only enter our research agenda when we construe the term "school" broadly enough to include college, but I urge us now, and will reiterate it later, to adopt that broader view of our topic. To be sure, it complicates inquiry into "the situation." The more advanced the desegregation situation we study, the more historical depth and complexity to the sequence of situations which produced the effects. But by including the college level we, automatically, come closer to studying long-term effects among adults. The variables in the Trent and Braddock studies--political efficacy, participation, decisions about college--are good examples of the larger category of long-term effects among adults, a topic of obvious importance for study but, as I shall stress later, neglected in most of the papers.

Following the good example of the Longitudinal Survey, a battery of questions on the sequence of situations could be included in other survey researches on the effects of segregation. In other forms of inquiry, the relevant educational records could be used to establish the sequence. Such data would serve many purposes. The effects of the current desegregation situation, as Trent showed, may be undermined or reinforced by the earlier sequence of school situations. Investigators run the risk of false conclusions if they remain on the surface, do not plumb the depths and duration of the experience. Our organizers mention the "inconclusive" nature of past research, mixed findings obtained from studies presumably of equivalent--but current--exposure to school desegregation. The equivalence may be only on the surface, and the contradictions might vanish when the sequence of situations is examined. And one might learn at which point in the school career the desegregation situation produces the greatest pay-offs in particular spheres. I return to these procedural matters stimulated by Rose's paper in my discussion of Rosenberg's paper.

The changing composition of the population of metropolitan areas, mainly as a result of migration, leads Rose to a discussion of "white flight" and to a most informative critique of various perspectives and methodologies in studying the problem. Ecology, thus, must be seen both as a condition prior to and affecting desegregation and as an effect, at a later point in time, following from desegregation. When Rose tells us that, despite the power of the methods employed and the prominence of the scholars involved, the "research to date has not allowed for a precise partitioning of the reasons for white enrollment decline," he leads me to forge a link between his and Rosenberg's paper. It may seem too simple, but why not press the phenomenological approach Rosenberg recommends to fathom the meaning of "flight."

Apropos my prefatory remarks about the choice of respondents, such an approach would be applied in surveys of adults rather than children as in Rosenberg's many examples. It is adults who move, for whatever reasons, taking along their captive children. Such surveys might reveal potential magnitudes exceeding the predictions made on the basis of past migrations, or allay our concerns about the future "flights." Movement or flight (white or black) may be contemplated but temporarily or permanently restrained by countervailing forces, for example, aged relatives who tether a family in a neighborhood. Meager resources can be a major restraint on flight--perhaps the only benign, unanticipated consequence of the recent high interest rates.

Rossi's (1955) early study of Why Families Move, admittedly, pre-dates the era of school desegregation and was limited to one Northern site, Philadelphia. Yet one set of findings should still restrain some later-day theorists. And the design itself, with a few modifications, is a model worth following. Although the most mobile families were those with children, Rossi found that "schools" was one of the least important of eleven specified attractions in choosing a dwelling. "Cost" was the foremost factor mentioned by 60%, whereas "schools" tied for tenth place, being mentioned by 28%. In a nationwide panel study done in the late sixties (fifteen years after Rossi and in the era of desegregation), an open-ended question obtained reasons from those who had moved over the course of the surveys. Again the findings restrain hasty conclusions about white flight and suggest the utility of survey research on the problem. The constellation of space, costs, and seeking a better place, plus job changes and tenure, were the most frequent factors mentioned by whites (McAllister et al., 1971).

Some may reject such approaches, categorically distrusting people's answers to even the most subtle forms of questioning and the most sophisticated survey designs. Instead, they rely on elegant, but highly inferential, statistical analyses of other kinds of data to disentangle the sources of residential mobility and obtain sound evidence on white flight. Rose's critical review should shatter the illusion that such high powered methods make one invulnerable to error. Further reading makes one even more wary. Farley et al. (1980), for example, show the discrepant findings and conclusions about flight when different statistical models are employed to analyze the same set of data on changes in enrollment. Similarly, Molotch's (1969) careful analysis of property transfer data and elaborate design are reexamined and disputed by Guest and Zuiches (1971), their critique then rebutted by Molotch (1971).

Neither the direct inquiry into reasons nor the use of more inferential methods should be rejected. Both should be applied cautiously, ideally in combination to enlarge our understanding of the effects of school desegregation on residential mobility and flight. Indeed, Rose's discussion of one study, by Lord and Catau (1976), illustrates the way such a merger of methods can improve an inquiry into problems of flight.

In the course of his discussion of white flight, Rose reminds us of the important but neglected problem of "black flight," the movement of middle-class blacks out of the central cities and into the suburbs. This aggravates the problems of inner-city schools but creates the "potential for desegregation within a suburban context." As Rose notes, black flight highlights "another dimension of the problem that has been largely overlooked: effect of race/class interaction on the decision regarding...residential choice and the role of both the race and class composition of a school district upon the decision to either enroll or withdraw one's children from it." At other points in his discussion, Rose emphasizes the need to consider class and ethnicity, as well as race, and suggests a variety of methods for analyzing the effects of this complex, interwoven set of factors on population movements.

By his repeated reminders of these overlooked dimensions, I am led to see a linkage between the Rose and Granovetter papers, and also between Granovetter and Rosenberg. Just as class and ethnicity influence population movements, they influence the informal relations and sociometric ties of children, Granovetter's focus. Understanding the forces that influence children's choice of friends as well as adults' choice of residences--exploring the meaning of such acts--may be aided by the phenomenological approach Rosenberg recommends. In both spheres, a variety of other methods have been developed to dissect the complex of forces that shape decisions, and these should be applied jointly with a phenomenological approach.2

Rose's treatment of a microspatial perspective, where he moves from the macro scale down to the neighborhood setting, suggests potential links to other papers. Although his focus is on adults and novel techniques for studying their residential patterns, he enlarges my vision of our central theme in other ways. For children as well as adults, the desegregation situation includes extra-school as well as school settings, the child moving back and forth through a sequence of situations. From new-fangled social geography and from old-fashioned human ecology, we have much to learn about natural and man-made barriers and vehicles--bicycles, buses, subways, parks, playgrounds, shopping malls--to inter-racial contacts after school or out of school. Everyone talks of the magnet school. What about the magnet museum or the new video-game palaces which seem to have the draw of a mega-magnet?

In studying the extra-school situations in which children travel, play, meet and visit, again we must note the changing historical scene. When the price of a subway or bus ride has reached 75 cents and the price of a gallon of gas $1.30, the cost of visiting and fostering an interracial friendship begun in the classroom (given the residential patterns) may be prohibitive. When the park and the subway take on an aura of violence, they no longer are arenas and avenues of association.

In studying the activities of children as they move through a sequence of school and extra-school situations, I underline our organizers' reference to Barker's (1968) Ecological Psychology, a guide to the conceptualization and systematic description of such actions. But I would also caution us against exclusive reliance on observational studies of behavior in arenas so burdened with barriers. Verbal reports of good intentions to act, but temporarily inhibited by brutish forces, should not be poo-poohed. Such reports collected in surveys may be good predictors of delayed effects of desegregation which will pay off when the restraints in the situation are eliminated or when the child has reached the stage and age when he or she can override a barrier. Young children are natural adventurers, but we cannot expect them to be heroes. Their actions occurring in the narrow confines of a classroom or even elsewhere in the school situation lend themselves to observational study. However, their actions out of school when they have dispersed throughout a neighborhood or city, which surely should be studied, do not lend themselves to observational methods. Harlem is no small hamlet; Manhattan is no tight little island. In studying the course of conduct as urban children move through a sequence of school and extra-school situations, verbal reports and survey methods will have to supplement or supplant direct observation.

Assume that one could afford to hire enough temporary help to track and observe a dispersed group of children for a short while (an unlikely assumption). That, at best, could bring under study sequences of school and extra-school activities that occur regularly over the brief daily or weekly cycle during the school year. A few contributors have urged the study of long-term effects of desegregation and soon I shall add my voice to theirs. And my fellow synthesizer, Yinger (et al., 1977), has shown how consequential summertime experiences are in molding behavior when students go back to school. Survey and other verbal methods may be theonly practical way to study important sequences that are spread across time and space. In this connection, I mention a one-time, extra-school experience in the lives of some college students that seems to me important and yet has been singularly neglected by modern survey researchers generally and by investigators of desegregation. As noted earlier, my recommendation that we include college students among the populations we study is to extend the usual meaning of "school." But certainly, segregation and desegregation characterize various college situations both for blacks and whites, and soon, reading between the lines of presidential proclamations and noting agreements already made with Southern states, the segregated white college (as well as black college) may become stronger than ever. The neglected extra-school variable I refer to is military service, which now involves (in contrast with the early years of World War II) intimate and, I think, potent inter-racial contact. Veteran's status is a simple variable to measure. Indeed it was included in many of the waves of the NORC General Social Survey which also included a long battery of questions on interracial attitudes and behavior, waiting for the smart secondary analyst who will exploit the data. Yet, among the thousands of cross-tabulations I have seen in hundreds of surveys, I can hardly recall an instance where veteran's status was examined. And I cannot recall offhand any modern research on desegregation which has employed the variable, although Stouffer's (1949) classic World War II research is a rich source of evidence on the effects of segregation and desegregation within the army, worthy of continued study.

I leave the links to other papers and other procedural implications of Rose's remarks in incipient form, and now turn to a second paper.

GRANOVETTER: THE MICRO-STRUCTURE OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

This paper follows logically for me after Rose's paper. Legal or institutional arrangements and demographic or ecological processes that bring groups into proximity with each other in schools or classrooms or neighborhoods provide common access to the facilities available and create opportunities for social relations, but do not insure friendships, social integration, or some other desirable outcome. The missing link, perhaps the magical link or insurance of the outcome, Granovetter finds in the microsocial structure of the desegregation situation. He examines the micro-structure in detail, focusing mainly on that structure within the school situation but not neglecting the parallel structure within the neighborhood and the relation between the two. The paper sparkles with subtle and good ideas--technical, methodological, and theoretical. There are almost too many and the reader may be overwhelmed. I will single out some, emphasizing those that seem most promising, occasionally making some critical comments.

Granovetter cautions against exclusive attention to the single classroom as the unit for study. In those narrow confines, one might find only the sub-micro-structure, not the micro-structure of many classes in the larger school which also shapes the student's life. He also urges attention to other structures within the school but outside all the classrooms. Just as there is an ecology or geography of the neighborhood or city, which Rose treated, so too there is an ecology of the school related to its halls, stairs, playgrounds, lunchrooms, and bathrooms. Various settings make the pupil's behavior more or less visible or observable, bring it more or less under the control of authority, impose the weight of many or few others--peers, elders--on the lone individual or dyad or triad. Consequently, the behavior may vary across situations within the school. At the end of this discussion, Granovetter truly links up with Rose in urging attention to the ecology and micro-structure of the neighborhood, by stressing the study of children out of school as well as in school, despite the greater difficulty of inquiry. Controls over the child, the opportunities for contact (dependent on demography and ecology)--and let us not forget the free time available--vary across the extra-school and school situations, and interracial behavior may not be consistent across the range of situations.

In thinking about the impact of formal school and informal neighborhood situations on interracial behavior and the types of inconsistencies one might find, one senses in some quarters a prejudgment based on a kind of simple philosophy. Formal school authorities are regarded as malevolent, insidious, undermining desegregation in various subtle ways. Children are seen, by contrast, as benign. When liberated from clutches of school authorities, it follows that desegregated and integrated patterns flourish naturally among them. But some authorities are benign and some children are barbaric. I commend Granovetter's suspending judgment on the problematics of behavior across the range of formal and informal settings within and out of school. He is worth quoting: "Schools which appear nominally integrated may have classrooms that are de facto segregated...But even where classrooms are 'resegregated,' one needs to know also whether out-of-class interactions are comparably divided. Conversely, though classes are integrated, desegregation may be less than meets the eye...Segregation was thus reconstituted at an extra-classroom level."

On this point, I cite a sociometric study from a distant time and place, not out of nostalgia surely or antiquarian tendencies, but because it is an extreme example of the way ecology attenuates the power of benign authorities (school or other) to govern social relations. I refer to Loomis' (1946) study of a Hanoverian village in 1945 which was a spin-off from the U.S. Bombing Survey in which he and I participated. The Nazi party had been banned by our military occupation and, correspondingly, under our watchful eyes all official party activities had indeed ceased. "Integration" was in the works. However, the villagers' previous political affiliations had already been determined in the course of the Bombing Survey, and with great validity. When Loomis did a seemingly innocent sociometric study, he found that Nazis visited mainly other Nazis. In the home and out of sight, they maintained their party ties and remained "segregationists" of the worst stripe.

Granovetter cautions against exclusive study of social relations between students, urging us to examine informal ties between teachers or between families or between teachers and pupils, all of which may shape the structure of student relationships. This, of course, bears upon the question raised in my preface about the proper populations for study. Several complementary ones is his thoughtful answer, but he still does not answer the narrower question of which students within that one diverse group. The stability of the structure of their social relations, the consistency of their behavior across different situations, the later pay-off in the economic sphere, the influence of parents, might depend greatly on whether one studied third-graders or sixth-graders or high-school seniors. On this issue one suggestion: By including siblings, contrasts in developmental stage and classroom and school situations could be examined with controls automatically maintained over family, social class, and neighborhood variables.

In reviewing the factors that shape social relations of students within the school, Granovetter is comprehensive, exceedingly thoughtful. Yet, he and others seem to me to neglect a factor of importance that is almost too obvious to be missed. Whitehead may have explained such egregious omissions by his aphorism that "it requires a very unusual mind to undertake the analysis of the obvious." I refer to the rates of "delayed education" among minorities. Using the modal grade for any specific age, and treating students as "delayed" if their grade is two years or more below the modal grade for their age, about one-quarter of black 15-17 year old males were "delayed" in 1976, which was 2.3 times greater than the delayed rate among their white counterparts. Among Puerto-Rican males the delay was even greater, 3.9 times that of white counterparts (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1978).

All of us are aware of this sad state of affairs, it giving impetus to the improvement of education and the desegregation of schools. Yet its implication for social relations within the classroom seem to me neglected. Consider the difficulty, for example, of a little 12-year-boy becoming friends (unless he needs a protector) with a big 17-year-old in his classroom and the difference in their interests. Patchen's (1982) striking finding that white high school students shorter than 5'7" were much more likely than those 5'11" or taller to avoid black schoolmates is vivid support for my argument. Many delayed minority students are not realistic choices for their non-delayed white classmates. Sociometric indices of friendship somehow should be adjusted to take account of the number of age-mates within the classroom, and the age distributions kept in mind in evaluating modest rates of interracial friendships within the classroom.

This brings me to the question of what kinds of social relations should be measured. Here, too, Granovetter is unusually thoughtful, freeing us from the narrow orbit of past sociometric research. As he tells us, measuring only liking, friendship, may be misleading since its absence does not mean its opposite, enmity. As relations between nations reveal, a nation that is not our friend may also not be our enemy. It may be neutral. Switzerland is a perfect example. So, too, some individuals are "neutrals," being neither friends nor enemies. Distant might a better description of them. Granovetter rightly urges us to study both liking and antagonism. Studying one pattern without the other may be terribly misleading as my example will imply. Groups of individuals--often show an alternating or mixed pattern of friendliness and fighting. We all know that lovers quarrel, strangers can't. We know from Lois Murphy's (1957) study of nursery school children, conducted over forty years ago but classic and still relevant today, that many who attacked others were also warm to others (see also Patchen, 1982). Some, however, rarely engaged in either form of social behavior. They maintained their neutrality, their distance from others.

These thoughts bring me to the procedural problem of timing of sociometric measurements which is implied by Granovetter's intriguing treatment of "the historicity of social structure." Long ago, Robert E. Park talked of the "relations of strangers" and later Robin Williams talked of "strangers next door" to characterize the early stage of interracial relationships. In her study of desegregation in the St. Louis high schools, Bonita Valien's (1956) protocols described a Swiss-like neutrality or distance: "Just act like they are not there"; "Stay with your own group of friends and if trouble seems to start leave immediately and go home." That was back in 1954-55, the initial stage of the process. Whether there is an ongoing history of neutrality, wariness, distance in particular school settings or a succession of neutrality, friendship, and/or enmity requires careful timing of measurements, or better yet, a series of measurements. One recalls the long buried studies from obscurity by Newstetter et al. (1938) and by Hunt and Solomon (1942) which showed the instability of micro-social structures by repeated sociometric measurements.

Granovetter's urging attention to children's mobility between schools and school systems over a period of years seems especially important to me, as already indicated in my earlier remakrs. Here I emphasize that newcomers to a school are a strategic group deserving special analysis, not to be lost in the larger body of data in sociometric studies. Their previous school histories, of course, must be documented, and I shall return to this point.

Granovetter's focus is mainly on interracial social relations, as these are best described by various technical procedures and as they are governed by various factors. But that is not the end of his analysis. He then explores how social relations, in turn, might affect academic performance. I agree heartily that "a reduction in animosity...is intrinsically a benefit worth pursuing" and a sufficient justification for desegregated schools, especially when we consider the contradictory findings on the academic benefits from such schooling. But I appreciate his careful examination of the intricate connection between the desegregated school situation and academic performance, since that has been in the forefront of many discussions. Here I would add one point, again hammering on the theme of the neglect of the obvious.

Every college professor knows that students vary greatly in attending classes. Some of the contradictory findings on the academic effects of desegregated classes, as well as the modest magnitudes demonstrated, may arise because this simple didactic variable has not been considered. Schools and classes also vary in the sheer amount of time devoted to instruction. Starting from the axiom that "in any assessment of schooling the primary variable is the quantity of schooling that is received by a pupil" (italics supplied), David Wiley reanalyzed the portion of the Coleman Report obtained from sixth grade pupils in the Detroit schools (see Wiley and Harnischfeger, 1974). In that one system and grade level, he found "tremendous variations in the amount of schooling" pupils received and then established that quantity was an important determinant of their achievement in mathematics, reading, and verbal performance.

Toward the end of his paper, Granovetter pushes out to the farther reaches of time, suggesting that desegregated schools and their microsocial structures abet economic success in adult life. On this pay-off, his theoretical analysis of the value of cross-racial social ties is plausible. Surely, we want hard evidence and lots of it, and we need a well-marked procedural path we can take. Two bits of guidance down the path are given. The citation to Crain's paper leaves us stumbling in the dark. Substantial positive effects of so-called "integrated" versus "segregated" high-school experience on economic success were reported, but the way the high-school situation was measured is not illuminated at all, nor was there any recognition given to the sequences and complexity of such school situations. Then the reference to findings from McPartland and Braddock's large longitudinal samples leaves us overwhelmed as we contemplate the burdens and costs of such studies. Braddock's allusion during the conference to Crain's and his current (1982) research which finds that integrated college experience pays off economically for black students may become a new source of methodological guidance. That again reminds us of the merit of extending the notion of "school" to include college. Toward studies of this important area of effects, we need much guidance and clear, viable procedures.

In the spirit of guiding us, I note that the 1982 wave of the NORC General Social Survey (GSS), accessible to all scholars, asked the question: "Was the high school you attended all black, integrated but mostly black, or integrated but mostly white?" That may not capture all the complexities of the school situation, but it is no worse than Crain's variable. The GSS also included a battery of questions on college attainment, adult occupational attainments and income, father's and mother's education and occupation, and Granovetter's hypothesized link--cross-racial friendships--plus a host of other relevant controls. There, costing nothing, scholars have a simple procedural path, nationwide in length, to study the problem.

I shall have more suggestions when I review Rosenberg's paper, next in my synthesis, and point out linkages. Before that, a basic comment on Granovetter's paper which applies equally well--even better--to other papers. In all the papers, we are given a lavish treatment of independent variables, a subtle analysis of desegregation situations. Granovetter, for example, conceptualizes the micro-structure of the class and the school and the neighborhood desegregation situations thoroughly. Contrasted with such lavishness the treatment of effects is meager, and some of the salutary outcomes long envisioned by advocates of desegregation seem singularly neglected.

Granovetter has treated us better than other writers. Among immediate effects, he has included two, social relations and school achievement, to which he added the third, later effect on economic achievement. Rosenberg focuses almost exclusively on one effect, self-esteem, bringing to bear on this outcome a beautifully elaborated structure of forces. Blalock's blueprint (his Figure 1)of causal forces is beyond compare, but erected seemingly for the sole purpose of explaining intergroup contact. When we weight the effects of desegregation, surely it is fair and wise to put more onto the scales. Why are beliefs and attitudes of child and adult minority and majority members about each other--so obvious an effect, so often discussed in the literature on contact and desegregation--neglected? What about true knowledge of each other's group, for example, of the hardship and victimization minorities suffer or of their high achievements despite those handicaps? What about sentiments, for example, sympathy for the underdog or hatred of the overdog? What about potential effects in adult life, such as membership or support for various voluntary associations, political participation, and support for various candidates--black or white, integrationist or segregationist? And what about effects on adult self-esteem which, as Seeman (1981) has noted, may differ from the short-run effect on the child's self-esteem?

The imbalance surprises me. Most inquiries are spacious vehicles that can carry additional dependent variables at little extra cost. The investigator sensitized to a broader domain of potential effects would make more of his opportunities and thereby produce a more comprehensive assessment of desegregation. For example, a secondary analyst thus alerted would see other freebies in the 1982 General Social Survey, e.g., sentiments of trust, intergroup beliefs and attitudes. My commentary applies to many of the papers, and brings me to the next one.

ROSENBERG: DESEGREGATION AND SELF-ATTITUDES

Rosenberg intertwines two topics, one substantive, the other methodological, which I will separate. On the substantive or theoretical topic, the self-esteem of children, Rosenberg elegantly reviews the literature, shows the dependence of findings about black children's self-esteem on the methods employed, and explores subtle and neglected features of the segregation or desegregation situation that protect or injure their self-regard. Those explorations are guided by phenomenological data. With this showpiece in place, Rosenberg treats the methodological topic. He makes an eloquent appeal for a phenomenological approach in "attitude research" (I would prefer to say survey research). Thus he would advance the art of inquiry about desegregation by enriching our knowledge of the subjective world of children, of what various kinds of school situations mean to them.

On the substantive portions of the paper, I have only trivial criticisms and pedantic or eccentric suggestions to make, these being far over-shadowed by my admiration for the virtuosity of the performance. By way of trivia, for example, I would give credit where credit belongs, to MacLeod. His 1947 paper (not the 1968 paper cited) on psychological phenomenology gives him priority over Snygg and Combs. MacLeod's buddies, Krech and Crutchfield, who stressed the value of pehnomenology in their 1948 text, or the earlier Gestaltists, notably David Katz and Max Wertheimer, from whom MacLeod derived inspiration also deserve credit.

Understandably, I cannot understand the studious avoidance of the terminology of "reference group" theory and the emphasis on "social comparison" theory. The former is more congenial to a phenomenologist, the latter prejudging the points of comparison in the subjective world--hardly characteristic of Rosenberg. I would especially like to see an allusion to William James' notion of "progress in the social self," to the idea that individuals may have to choose painful points of reference in their striving to advance. Rosenberg shows how the segregated situation may provide a reference group that protects self-esteem. That situation would be seen as a mixed blessing. I suggested long ago (1968: 357) that "men may choose reference groups above them at the price of present dissatisfaction because they are laying a claim to a future when their status will be higher and their relative deprivation diminished." Not paying that price does not imply that they pay no price at all. As Seeman (1981: 393) put it recently: "It may be that the in-group solidarity and narrow reference-group behavior that seem to generate high minority self-esteem constitute too great a price to pay (at a cost in social integration and substantive equality)."

A last theoretical point. Maslow's (1941) classic paper on "Deprivation, Threat and Frustration" stressed a distinction of importance for Rosenberg. Maslow noted that we often fail "to make the distinction between a deprivation which is unimportant" and "a deprivation which is at the same time a threat to the personality...to self-esteem." And he goes on to discuss the way the symbolic meaning of an experience governs whether it is seen as a threat to the self or simply as a deprivation. That surely fits Rosenberg's phenomenological formulation. Such suggestions simply embellish the attractive substantive and theoretical portions of Rosenberg's essay. I turn now to the methodological theme.

Clearly, Rosenberg has won his appeal for a more phenomenological approach to survey research on desegregation. That might give the missing meaning of residential mobility, of "white flight." That would help us understand why various kinds of segregated or desegregated school situations have particular consequences, often unexpected. That, as noted earlier, would clarify the meaning of sociometric choices, enlightening us on which features of another--age, clothes, and other markers of class, color, ethnicity, muscle, etc.--make the person more or less attractive as a friend. Such data are crucial safeguards against false inferences from the sheer quantitative findings on interracial choices or rejections.

The phenomenal world surely keeps changing its shape and content. Its scope must vary with the age and developmental level of the child. Note Rosenberg's passage, which I have underscored. "Younger black children...are remarkably unaware of the level of prejudice that exists in the society as a whole. (This awareness increases as they grow older....)" If we are to make the most of his proposal, we must survey children at various ages, and to capture the flux and change, we should do it repeatedly. "Satellite samples" of siblings, as earlier suggested, would be especially useful in isolating developmental factors that shape children's phenomenal world. Older sibs, as Rosenberg remarks, also influence a younger child's views of the world, the choice of points of social comparison. Thus two problems are illuminated for the price of one satellite survey. All this bears on my earlier procedural question of the choice of populations for study. Rosenberg mentions an array of significant others who shape the child's world: parents, "other relatives," etc., who might be directly surveyed. The ghosts of Gilbert and Sullivan hover over us: "His sisters and his cousins/Whom he reckons up by dozens/And his aunts!" We must be more choosy than that in the strategic populations we survey, and we can use the child as an informant on multiple others who are sources of influence.

The phenomenal world, as William James reminded us, also has a temporal dimension. It includes an awareness of the future. With change in the headlines, phenomenological inquiry, at least among older children, should explore their sense of the transiency or permanency of the situation, their expectations. Whatever effects the desegregated school might have now are attenuated if the child believes that it is but a passing phase.

Survey research on desegregation, however, should not be limited to the phenomenological. We must not be carried away by the eloquence of Rosenberg's appeal, and we must heed his warning not to abandon "positivism" in a rush toward an exclusive phenomenological approach. Surveys are also the special vehicle needed to obtain detailed information on the sequence of school situations students have experienced and are the only practical path to test multiple long-term effects of various patterns of such experience.

Daniel Katz (1967) once suggested that the potential of survey research is to yield "a social psychological taxonomy." The variety of school situations which older children have lived through up to that point in their careers, and which adults have already lived through, would be determined and classified, by nationwide surveys. The census and other data cited earlier suggest the value of such information, but they are too crude, gross or aggregative, and fragmentary as accounts of the career. I see no reason why the total school sequence cannot be reconstructed for most respondents in the course of a survey, enumerated in terms of names and places and dates, and subsequently classified on the basis of independent objective information into the sequences of segregated/desegregated situations involved. To accompany that, the respondent would also be asked for his subjective description of the kinds of situations involved. Note that the cohort of six-year olds who began primary school in 1955 are already thirty-three years old and that their adult economic achievements, mature interracial attitudes, and current conduct are at hand. Those who began high school in 1955 are already middle-aged. Such a research design would really tell us about long-term pay-off. Such surveys would, at the least, function as a device to locate strategic groups with especially interesting school histories for subsequent deeper intensive surveys. In those later surveys of pinpointed groups, the phenomenal world could be explored and the intricate connections between school and later life would be mapped.

My final two points on the use of surveys also transcend the phenomenological approach. Surveys with personal interviewing in the home can enumerate on a large scale, through sheer observation, indicators of the effects on minorities of segregated or desegregated school experiences. Consider, for example, the vernacular language spoken in asides to other members of the household, the specialized words and phrases used, styles of hair and dress. Just such items are mentioned in the Jules-Rosette and Mehan paper as indicative of personal identity, ethnicity. Those and other observables, behavior expressive of extreme affect in response to certain issues posed in the survey, household furnishings, etc., may be revealing signs of the changes that have been produced by the contrasted school experiences also measured in the surveys.

My last point links up with the residential situation on which other writers focus, but with an aspect whose implications seem neglected. The neighborhood, even the home, provides more than just the opportunity for students to continue or alter the kinds of social relations they have in school. Out of school, their social contacts teach them about the different school experiences of others. Within the same home, an older sib in a desegregated school may tell a younger sib in a segregated school about his or her experiences. Certainly, in the wider circle of a neighborhood, even a segregated one, children learn vicariously, from each other, about a diversity of school experiences. In the language of experimentalists, children presumed to be experiencing a particular, unadulterated school situation (ignore the past sequence) are bound to be "contaminated" once they hit the street. Perhaps the paradoxical findings of some past research derive from classifying children solely by reference to their school situation and ignoring the constant contamination that must occur. Surveys easily can ask about the school situations of others in the respondent's social circle, leading to more subtle and accurate measurement of the total "exposure" of respondents to various school situations.

JULES-ROSETTE AND MEHAN: RETHINKING SCHOOL DESEGREGATION RESEARCH
SUTTLES: SCHOOL DESEGREGATION AGENDA FOR ETHNOGRAPHY

Both these papers are informed by an anthropological perspective. Therefore, I shall treat them together even though they are sharply contrasted in focus, coverage, and principles of research strategy. Jules-Rosette and Mehan come first only because of the explicit links to Rosenberg's phenomenological approach. They, too, stress that understanding the desegregated school situation demands investigation of pupils' "perceptions of themselves in the school setting." They also urge more "attention...to the child's description of the desegregated setting" and taking into account the conditions of contact between groups "as seen in their own terms." However, the procedure they propose is not attitude or survey research but rather an ongoing, protracted, find-grained, multi-form, thorough ethnographic study of a school and its practices, its classrooms, and the interactions of pupils and staff, plus sensitivity to the larger cultural and societal forces that shape the complex structure and process. The macrocosm, however, is the background, and the focus is on the microcosm. Not so in Suttles.

This is to urge upon investigators heroic standards of performance, to which I do not object, but it also demands from us a thoughful answer to my prefatory questions of the choice of population and site for inquiry, on which the writers are singularly quiet. If we are to commit such lavish resources of time and labor and elite personnel adequate to the task, we had better choose wisely. How grotesque if we were to end up with the most definitive study of the most eccentric school situation and the strangest group of students! At best, such a solo, virtuoso study is but a study of one case. Suttles will come to rescue us from the quandary. But my simple--perhaps simple-minded--solution is to choose with great care no less than one pair of contrasted sites, ideally two pairs to fill out our hand and provide some replication. This would require a small team of ethnographers to coordinate their efforts, but that does not seem to me a utopian idea. One case would be a site where desegregation is clearly working in eminently successful fashion, and its paired comparison would be a site where despite favorable conditions and some comparable characteristics failure is rampant. Such a design might lead to knowledge of crucial conditions for successful desegregation. It would prevent the arbitrary and false conclusions in a single case study as to the unique factors that determined success or failure, those turning out to be present, oddly enough, in the contrasted case added in my design. Wherever the site may be, Jules-Rosette and Mehan do pinpoint our observations in future studies by their detailed anatomy of the school and the classroom, and their special attention to administrators' sorting procedures and teachers' subtle practices. Theirs and Suttles' paper supplement each other and, taken together, strengthen future inquiry. What is omitted in the one is included in the other; what is given brief treatment in one is given special attention in the other. And the two together emphasize the need for ethnographic methods, a proper complement to survey research and demographic methods.

What is in their field of vision, but peripheral, for Jules-Rosette and Mehan becomes central for Suttles. His vision is almost global, sweeping across our national history, especially the "mythic history" of the incorporation of ethnic and racial groups; the fundamental economic and political conflicts in the larger society; the social structure and the subordination and dominance of groups; the cultural conception of the common school; youth culture and its sub-cultures; the role of the media in transforming local school conflicts into national events, thus engaging larger forces and changing the student's definition of the immediate desegregation situation and his role in it; the ecology, special culture, social organization, economy, and political structure of the communities involved. The pressing need for the ethnographer studying desegregation is indeed a broader macro-sociological framework, and the one Suttles constructs is monumental in scale.

Although Suttles' vision is global, it is not gross or fuzzy. He sees and points future investigators toward important details at various levels of description. Thus, they are not adrift in this giant universe. For example, his discussion of relevant, subtle features of the neighborhood and family life of underclasses is "thick description." By the wealth of illustration, he specifies items to be included in ethnographic studies of desegregation. And by his own example, he suggests a style of inquiry, broad but not vague or vapid.

There is danger that the multitude of items displayed and the many levels of description proposed may frighten readers and paralyze all attempts at doing any research. Suttles rescues us with an "agenda" for action, by suggesting priorities for research and strategic areas of study that have been neglected. There is also danger that despair over the modest findings of a first study will turn the investigator away from further studies of desegregation. That is offset when Suttles enumerates the obstacles to the effectiveness of school, thus providing realistic aspiration by which to appraise the achievements of desegregation.

He resolves the dilemma about the choice of sites, not by my strategy, but by various criteria that have merit. He argues, for example, persuasively for the big city; for choosing sites that vary from ones where the literature has established baselines for comparison, in that fashion saving an ethnographic inquiry from being an isolated "case study." Although Suttles is dubious about teamwork between ethnographers operating in separate sites, Jules-Rosette and Mehan and Suttles, in my judgment, are a team whose complementary papers will advance ethnographic inquiry into desegregation.

BLALOCK: EXPLAINING RACIAL CONTACT IN SCHOOLS

This paper is linked to those by Jules-Rosette and Mehan and Granovetter in its focus on interracial contact. That dependent variable, as noted earlier, is not simply in focus for Blalock; it is given close to exclusive attention in examining the effects of desegregation. In the treatment of independent variables, however, Blalock links to Suttles in his coverage of a host of factors: influences from parents and siblings and peers, the teacher's tactics, the decisions of school administrators and school boards, courts, legislatures and other officials, the population and ecology of the school and the neighborhood including its multi-ethnic mix and long-term features of the American educational system.

Blalock is less sweeping and macroscopic in his coverage than Suttles, but again there seems to be a danger of overloading the poor reader and future investigator. In his own way, Blalock also comes to the rescue. Order is imposed by a causal, dynamic model. And an orientation or perspective on the field of forces is provided. For Suttles, the movers and shakers of segregation seem to be the macroscopic forces. Given Blalock's contrasted narrow focus on the interracial contacts of students, understandably he suggests examining these interaction patterns first from the standpoint of the individual actors, using a micro-level orientation. There is an implicit connection with Rosenberg, but there is an explicit theory about the actor who is guided by "utilities" and "subjective probabilities". Blalock assumes that "virtually all contact behaviors are motivated by short-term considerations of individual rewards and costs." These dynamic factors are in turn influenced by the wider context.

Throughout his discussion of interracial contact and social relations, Blalock is subtle and sharp. There are many procedural implications for sound measurement of such relations, although the discourse is not couched in methodological terms. For example, he reminds us that lack of contact should not be construed hastily as "avoidance" or hostility. He cautions us that one can read too much into an unfriendly interracial contact, since some actors are equally unfriendly toward members of their own race. Of course, his reference to the sequence of previous school situations and the past history of contacts as influencing present contacts pleases me. A careful reading of Granovetter plus Blalock will advance inquiry into this realm.

COOK: POLITICS AND RELEVANCE OF QUASI-EXPERIMENTAL METHODS
MISCHEL: STUDYING DESEGREGATION, A COGNITIVE SOCIAL LEARNING VIEW

These two papers come at the end of my synthesis because, despite the differences, both seem on the surface to be far removed from the other six papers. Cook reviews critically and creatively a distinctive method, quasi-experimentation. He delimits its functions to answering certain specialized questions about desegregation, further noting its ambiguities and deficiencies in this regard, although its virtues and various techniques that improve and enlarge the method are also entered into the accounts.

The paper thus seems set apart in its own realm, the questions about desegregation it can answer clearly important but circumscribed, quite different from those stressed in other papers, and not always--as he notes--of high priority to decision makers working at particular levels on school desegregation. But this is to ignore many connections to the larger theme Cook points out in a far-ranging paper. For example, he explains why "intimate, 'anthropological' knowledge of dynamic settings is crucial...for designing quasi-experiments," thereby forging a direct link to Suttles and Jules-Rosette and Mehan and suggesting a sequence of inquiry involving both methods. Elsewhere he questions staging or choosing sites for quasi-experiments at the level of the large district or big city because of the uncertainty, variability, complexity, and plasticity of the "desegregation" whose effects are to be demonstrated by quasi-experiment. The results have no clear referent in the absence of careful descriptive studies of what is actually implemented at the local level. By implication, again he is suggesting that inquiry combine methods. In the course of that discussion, he presents a classification of types of sites and describes their respective features, the personnel involved, and the questions about desegregation of high priority to them. This provides guidance in choosing sites, an issue whose general importance I have already stressed.

On the important issue of the multiple effects of desegregation, where I noted the meagerness of the dependent variables covered in other papers, Cook's paper makes a unique and general contribution to the larger enterprise. The section headed "A Typology of Research Questions" lists multiple potential effects on school children. In turn, a chain of subsequent effects may occur as the children move on to college, enter into political and other institutions or, more immediately, influence their families. Other writers treated the family only as an independent variable, an agent affecting the children. The neat twist Cook adds is to see the family also as the locus for indirect effects. He also enlarges our vision to include "non-individualistic" effects: on home prices, the growth of private schools, local taxes, the stability of neighborhoods, etc.

Mischel's paper, at first glance, seems truly remote from all the others, indeed from the entire topic of school desegregation. After a brief introduction making a telling point on the topic, Mischel makes hardly any further reference to desegregation or to that substantial literature. However, this reaction to the paper is short-sighted and ignores its deeper meaning. It is a well-documented, learned, theoretical, and persuasive--one might add, radical--statement on the importance of the situation in human conduct generally. Thus obliquely, if not directly, it states the importance of the school desegregation situation for the specific forms of conduct being sought. It is linked to all the papers; it is a fundamental underpinning for them. It justifies the keynote theme chosen to begin the conference, and located at this point in my synthesis, it is a fitting ending for our efforts. My juxtaposing Cook and Mischel is also fitting. Cook reported findings that different desegregation situations produce similar outcomes providing mild antidote to an excessive "situationism". The dialectic between the two writers, in itself, creates a desirable synthesis.

Mischel describes the features of learning situations and of persons-within-learning situations that help the student learn. The analysis is specific, multi-dimensional, and fruitful. And he links up with and underlines points made in other papers. For example, Mischel's "focus not on the 'objective' situation in itself but on the psychological situation as it is represented cognitively and seen by the perceiver" is like Rosenberg's phenomenological perspective. That leads to the fruitful concept of "personal constructs or ways of encoding experience", which leads into the ways teachers and students categorize each other in the desegregated classroom. Mischel's proposition that voluntary acts "depend on the subjective values of the outcomes they expect" echoes Blalock's remarks about "utilities" and "subjective probabilities," and his treatment of children's "plans" meshes with my suggestion that their time perspectives be examined. He notes that "we can label situations in at least as many different ways as we can label people...The task of naming situations cannot substitute for the job of analyzing how conditions and environments interact with the people in them." His last words to us should be remembered when we examine the desegregated classroom situation. "It seems plausible to try to analyze settings in terms of the competencies, encodings, expectancies, values, and plans they require for effective coping." On this good parting advice, we part with his good company.

CONCLUSION

To create unity out of the multiplicity of the papers, to achieve a grand synthesis, is beyond the capacities of a single synthesizer. I am comforted that the responsibilities are shared. And I take comfort in the prospect that the many who read these papers will do their own syntheses, using discrete ideas in particular papers and combinations of ideas from several papers to advance the art of inquiry into school desegregation. If they feel themselves swamped by the cascade of ideas, defeated by the thought they they must explore all of the wide domain that has been mapped, all at once in their own inquiry, let them take comfort in a simple but sound principle. Investigators like explorers can find untapped wealth in a small part of a large realm. Still greater wealth from further explorations of the realm may require a long-term commitment. Given the good that may come from successful school desegregation, that long-term commitment is called for.

FOOTNOTES

1. These unpublished data, gratefully acknowledged, were generously provided by Dr. William T. Trent of the Center for the Social Organization of Schools, Johns Hopkins University.

2. For a summary of methods to analyze the influence of class, ethnicity, and belief similarity on interracial attitudes and relations, see Hyman (1969).

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THE RESEARCH AGENDA:
NEW DIRECTIONS FOR DESEGREGATION STUDIES

J. Milton Yinger

In studying the essays in this book and discussing them, I have kept several questions in mind. Assuming both intellectual and policy interests, I believe the reader of this volume ought to find answers (sometimes indirect) or clearly stated, researchable propositions, related to the following questions.

What do we know reasonably well, from the "obvious" to the counterintuitive, about school desegregation? What remains especially problematic?

Which factors encourage, which ones discourage, the use of what we know in specific contexts and under two different conditions: a) when nearly everyone agrees on the goals to be sought, and b) when there are competing and conflicting goals? The former are technical and resource questions; the latter are social problems. Although they are often linked, failure to distinguish them can lead to poor understanding of desegregation settings and to poor choice of policies.

Going further into the policy domain, what do we know about ways to encourage the use for humane purposes of what is known, under conditions a) and b)?

A question not much discussed, but which, just by the asking, may help us keep our topic in perspective, relates to the widest context: Why did desegregation begin? It has touched every part of society, not just the schools as a result of long-run secular changes. Ralph McGill once remarked that desegregation began with the boll weevil--a wonderful way of noting that changes affecting the cotton economy and Southern agriculture generally were transforming racial relations. These changes were closely related to demographic trends, to the size and location of minority populations, and to the growth of a stable urban working class and a middle class among minority groups. One could add many other factors: World War II, the collapse of empires, the appearance of activist groups and leaders--these are among the forces that indirectly or directly shaped the context within which desegregation was set in motion.

In advancing the art of inquiry in school desegregation research, few will disagree, I believe, with the emphasis in these papers on the need for ethnographic and quantitative survey studies. They are not only complementary, they can be highly interactive. Ethnographic studies are best designed to

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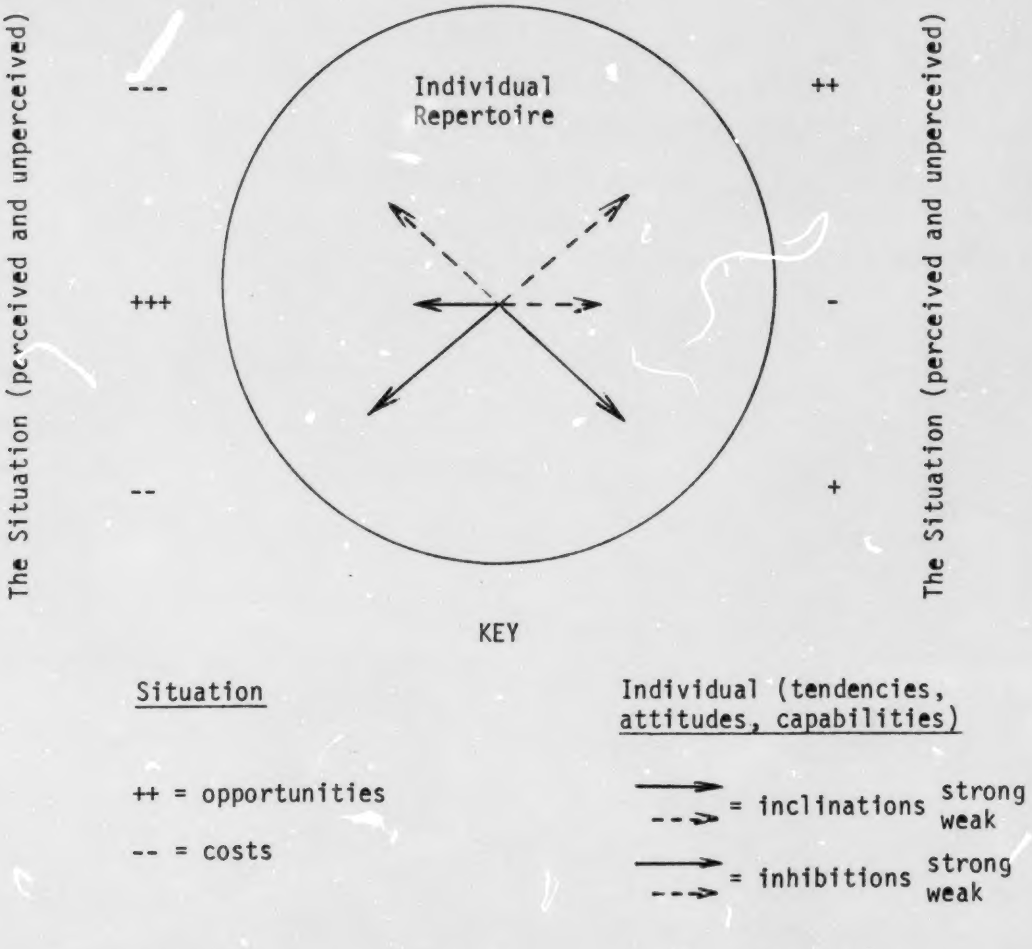
I have profitted greatly from the close reading of an earlier draft of this chapter by Julian Samora, George E. Simpson, John Yinger, and Jeffrey Prager, as well as from discussions with authors of the other chapters in this volume and other participants in two preparatory conferences.

uncover the critical variables and the structures of interaction in which they occur, while survey research can examine the significance of those variables in a wide range of carefully sampled populations. Experimental studies, as Cook emphasizes, will almost always be quasi-experimental, for we are dealing with open systems. Only by reciprocally setting the strengths of some studies against the weaknesses of others can we move toward definitive findings.

Nor is there likely to be much disagreement, at least in principle, on the need for both micro and macro perspectives. The limits of these terms are not self-evident, because what is macro in one context--e.g., the school system of a community when one is focusing on individual students--is micro in another context--e.g., the study of the impact of federal policy or demographic trends on particular school systems. The task, whatever the appropriate boundary in a given study, is to see their interdependence. The influence of neither can be identified without reference to the other, for we are dealing with "simultaneous equations," each containing unknowns. The equations can be solved, to continue with this figure of speech, only together (Yinger, 1965). In an important application of the micro-macro unit, Mischel, Cook, Rosenberg, and others speak of the need to study the interaction of personal tendencies and situations, the field context of desegregation. We can visualize the field, in its simplest terms, by use of Figure 1.

The likelihood of a given action, Figure 1 suggests, depends not on the strength of individual inclination alone nor on situational opportunities and costs alone, but on the conjunction of a certain set of inclinations, positive or negative, with a set of opportunities or costs. Desegregation will not proceed if individuals ready for it in terms of most of their attitudes and skills interact in a school setting poorly designed to promote it. Oppositely, if school districts are desegregated, but little attention is paid to individual attitudes and skills or to interpersonal encounters within the desegregated setting, the outcomes are likely to be disappointing. Neither theory nor policy can avoid the truth of the old adage: No chain is stronger than its weakest link.

The need to study individual tendencies and situational influences as interacting parts of a single field is emphasized in the extensive literature that examines the relationship of attitudes to behavior. (For recent reviews and commentaries see Hill, 1981, Eagly and Himmelfarb, 1978; Schuman and Johnson, 1977; Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975; and the papers by Schuman, Fishbein, Maynes, and Kelman in Yinger and Cutler, 1978.) It is well established that attitudes toward school and housing desegregation have become much more tolerant in the United States in the last quarter century (Smith, 1981), but it is equally well established that resistance to desegregation has sometimes been strong. Does this simply reflect the fact that those who have remained intolerant are resisting? Or is there a difference between generalized attitudes and those that are activated in particular contexts? Indeed, is it sometimes true that behavior changes, sometimes under compulsion, are followed by attitude change


The Situation (perceived and unperceived)

+++
--
Individual
Repertoire
++
-
+
The Situation (perceived and unperceived)
KEY
Situation
++ = opportunities
-- = costs
Individual (tendencies, attitudes, capabilities)
= inclinations strong weak
= inhibitions strong weak

Figure 1. The Field Context of Desegregation

that helps to reestablish some consistency (Jacobson, 1978)? These questions can be answered only in a field-theoretical context.

It is vital that we learn the lesson emphasized by Mischel that children's "traits" do not determine their behavior. Feelings of helplessness, for example, are expressed in particular situations, some of which may confirm and strengthen the feeling, others of which may furnish different interpretations and activate different tendencies. The need to combine individual tendencies and the situations within which they are expressed into a single unit of analysis has been recognized for several decades in psychology and sociology (Levin, 1935; Coutu, 1949; and, applied directly to intergroup relations, Simpson and Yinger, 1953), but attention to it keeps fading. Mischel brings it into the foreground. Such a pattern as "delay of gratification," he notes, is not simply an individual trait. It can be expressed in different ways and with different intensities as contexts vary.

THE ROOTS OF SEGREGATION

To understand school desegregation, we must understand school segregation--the forces that created and the forces that sustain it. These range from the institutional structures of power to demographic trends, to the legal and customary processes of school decision-making, to parental ambitions and attitudes, to the tendencies of students and teachers. Such factors as these are highly interactive; they can be understood only as part of a field of forces.

The several authors have emphasized different factors in the system of segregation, even while discussing desegregation. Ogbu's distinction between immigrant and subordinate groups rests on his argument (Ogbu, 1978) that schools and families have collaborated to socialize black children to the expectation of failure or little social mobility. In so doing they simply reflect, and seek to adapt to, an occupational system that needs a corps of unskilled--and nearly powerless--workers. We need to ask whether public policies with respect to the education of the children of undocumented workers and of refugees have the same effects. Historical, demographic, and attitudinal influences have left the door open for immigrant groups, but not for the subordinate groups. Gutman has developed a similar theme, although he speaks of more impersonal forces. Relatively recent patterns of migration reflecting economic changes, not the drag of history, have been, in effect, a new Enclosure Movement. "Peasants" have been driven off the land at a time when the lower rungs of the skill ladder in the urban occupational system have been cut away. Gutman observes (1977: 468-9) that "neither the economy nor those who dominate the political decision-making process have as a priority the creation of useful work for those driven in such great numbers from the land." The distinction Suttles makes between insiders and outsiders in our national myths is similar to the immigrant-subordinate contrast drawn by Ogbu. Some new groups are incorporated into insider status by the historical reconstruction of the national myth.

These are valuable concepts if we take them, not as statements of hard reality, but as analytic contrasts. If we treat "immigrant" and "subordinate" or "insider" and "outsider" as points on a scale, we are led to ask: What conditions affect placement on the scale? What conditions cause or permit changes? And, from the perspective of an interest in school desegregation, what structural and symbolic barriers are identified by study of these concepts? How does placement in one or another of these categories influence preparation for, and attitudes toward, desegregation? How does the great diversity within subordinate or outsider groups--in class, occupation, family experience, and individual tendency--qualify the impact of the labor market and the prevailing national myths?

The temptation is strong to explain segregation, with its accompanying disadvantages, as a result of either the structures of power or the prejudices and other attitudes of individuals. Even together these are inadequate. To some degree segregation is the unintended and unwanted consequence of action that may temporarily seem to serve an individual purpose but that, in the long run, injures individual purposes and collective interests--the long-observed "tragedy of the Commons" or, in more current terms, the problem of the critical mass. "In some schools, the white pupils are being withdrawn because there are too few white pupils; as they leave, white pupils become fewer so that even those who didn't mind yesterday's ratio will leave at today's ratio, leaving behind still fewer, who may leave tomorrow" (Schelling, 1978: 93-4).

In his chapter, Granovetter skillfully illustrates this tipping process to emphasize that a high level of segregation may occur even though few persons, at first, wanted it. To explain this result by reference to individual motives is often wrong. It is the interplay of attitudes and the ways they are activated by the initial distribution that is crucial. Each parent, pressing hard for the best school for his or her own child, may take actions that alongside other parents' actions collectively have the opposite result from the one sought.

In Fatal Remedies, Sieber discusses a dishearteningly long list of such unanticipated negative consequences. We know little about how to anticipate the unanticipated. It is easy to agree with Sieber's recommendation that "the same measures be taken to assess the negative outcomes of social interventions as are increasingly taken to assess the second- or third-order consequences of new technologies" (1981: 216). But anticipation is not enough. We need research on how to prevent these self-defeating actions. It is a good start to remember, with Cooley, that most of the harm in the world is done with the elbows, not the fists (he was not anticipating current basketball styles), that we bump and injure without intending to. Knowledge alone will not be persuasive; it must be accompanied by ability and willingness to take a long view, which in turn requires confidence in the system. We need research on what might be called "stopper variables"--new factors that are introduced into a system to prevent tipping from continuing to its "logical" conclusion of resegregation or desegregation without integration. These stoppers might include different patterns of reward that change parental and student priorities--superior curricula, payments to stay in school, credits toward college expenses, for example. The tipping process is "inevitable" only if no new elements are added to the system within which it has begun.

Stoppers that prevent or inhibit segregative actions are needed as well as those that facilitate integrative actions. Thus policies indicating that there are no longer all-white communities to which prejudiced persons can escape--based, for example, on scattered subsidized housing--could help to block the tipping process (J. Yinger, 1980).

SHARED AND COMPETING GOALS OF DESEGREGATION

In their chapters, Rose and Cook wisely emphasize the variety of goals among those involved in the desegregation process. We need, in my judgment, much more research on the goals of desegregation for various groups and study of the extent to which they are shared. There is probably substantial agreement on the goals of better school performance, improved self-esteem, continuance in school, and reduced prejudice. The desirability of more inter-racial and interethnic contact, however, or full equality in post-school access to jobs and other opportunities, may be less well agreed upon. On the societal level, better use of human resources, reduced conflict and alienation, and greater justice are probably widely accepted as aims of desegregation, however diversely they may be defined. Whether desegregation should be within a basically pluralistic or a universalistic frame, however, is a subject of controversy.

Thus we are confronted not simply with technical problems (how to do it), but also with social, moral, and political problems (whether to do it, to what degree, as well as how--for methods affect outcomes). If research is based on a limited technical definition, it will be inadequate. The social, moral, and political disagreements are seldom absolute; they are often due to different hierarchies and time-tables. This opens opportunities for accommodation, but it does not transform them into simple questions of method.

Perhaps the most important disagreement involves the degree to which school desegregation should permit, perhaps even encourage, distinctive group identities or, on the other hand, should be color-blind and culture-blind (whose color? whose culture?) in an effort to maximize individual opportunities and societal gains. Several chapters have discussed this issue of pluralism vs. universalism (Rose, Blalock, Jules-Rosette and Mehan). Rose notes that it affects the "adversarial nature of desegregation research" as well as the experience of desegregation. He sees some scholars who start from a pluralistic perspective as being less concerned over equity, except as it is denied by de jure segregation, and more concerned over ways to protect subgroup dominance of an ecological niche. He puts the issue sharply, "For those who view equity in terms of improved cognitive outcomes, the development of post-school networks, etc., the door appears to be closing as opposition from those whose principal concern is control of the school environment, including its racial and socio-economic composition, continues to grow." Blalock observes the dilemma vis-a-vis pluralism. If minor subcultural differences are emphasized, sorting, by students and staff, may enhance the differences. The result, sharper lines of separation that affect levels of performance. "It may prove to be exceedingly difficult to have it both ways."

We are in need of research that helps us to understand which cultural differences, if any, can be allowed or even emphasized without a school being caught in the dilemma of pluralism vs. performance.

BILINGUALISM AND DESEGREGATION

The most significant point at which the dilemma is revealed involves bilingualism and the associated biculturalism. Through the centuries, language supremacy and the "purity" of the dominant language have been focal points of struggle over power and over national or ethnic-group identity in many lands--in Germany, Turkey, Canada, India, and Malaysia, for example. The patterns of stratification are often clearly revealed, and reinforced, by variations in language and dialect. It is against this background that we should think about bilingualism in American schools.

Three policies, not usually clearly articulated, compete in the public arena.

1. Resist the growth of bilingual training in the schools. This is a one-language country, to everyone's advantage.

2. Recognize as a temporary fact that for some students, English is not the native language. Bilingual policy should be to create a bridge over into English.

3. Accept bilingualism as a fact of life in the United States and as an advantage to the country. Pluralism in language as in other cultural qualities is desirable. In areas where many persons are non-English speakers, other languages should be given some kind of official standing.

One could describe a number of variations on these three themes, but the brief comments may indicate the range. Since the Bilingual Education Act of 1968, indeed on a state and local basis for several years before then, official policy has approximated statement two. Agreement on goals, however, has not increased. Indeed, it may have decreased, as bilingual education has become a major civil rights issue among some groups even while resistance to it has also grown, as in Texas, Florida, and New Jersey (Burke, 1981). Part of the resistance is fiscal (several language groups may make claims), part is opposition to the separatism (pluralism to its supporters) that is involved, and part is based on educational grounds.

The educational and socio-economic implications of bilingualism vary among societies, classes, age-groups, and groups of different sizes. In South Africa, a repressive regime supports education in tribal languages for those outside the major cities "to make sure that cultural pluralism and social stratification coincide" (Harrington, 1978: 2). In the United States, although Latino immigrants are switching to English at a rate similar to earlier groups (most speak English predominantly by the third generation), some native Spanish speakers "may be electing to bypass the process of acculturation and assimilation that turned previous immigrant groups into English-speaking Americans" (Nunis, 1981: 29), presumably to try to make sure that cultural pluralism and social stratificiation do not coincide.

In my view, the need for bilingual education is unquestionable. But it should be education that opens up opportunities rather than closing them. Those who speak a "non-state" language require training in the language of their intimacy and the language of their functional polity, as Joshua Fishman puts it. (Needless to say, those who speak the "state language" natively would also profit, and society would profit, if they learned a second language.)

In discussing bilingualism, it is important to remember that it is one thing to teach "English as a Second Language" (there are numerous ESL programs) by providing supplementary training in English. It is something else to teach bilingualism, on the premise that maintaining and improving competence in the first language is a goal complementary to the goal of mastering English.

Our interest here is on the effects of various language programs on desegregation and the various consequences that flow from desegregation. Or, to put the issue negatively: To what degree do language differences and different competencies in English stand as barriers to desegregation both among and within schools? We need more research of several kinds, some of it dealing with the individuals involved, some with group relations. Do bilingual programs set groups apart, emphasizing their differences, or do they furnish greater opportunities for communication and interaction? How do various kinds of bilingual programs affect the school performance, self-concepts, job opportunities, and life chances generally for persons from different classes and communities with different lingual mixes (Jules-Rosette and Mehan; Lopez, 1976)? Referring to students whose first language is Spanish, Cafferty emphasizes that "...it must be determined whether Hispanic students master both the English and the Spanish language in bilingual programs; whether bilingual programs increase the students' achievement in other subjects; and what percentage of such students graduate from high school and continue on to college, in contrast to those Hispanic students not in a bilingual program" (Cafferty, 1982: 126).

A question not often asked deals with the sources of the perpetuation of language differences. How much are those differences cultural products, and how much are they better described as conflict-produced barriers, counter-languages, the symbolic expressions of separating countercultures (Yinger, 1982: 161-65; Halliday, 1976; Adams, 1977, Labor, 1972)? In our conversations, Ogbu has noted that two groups of second generation Mexican-Americans may not speak standard English for different reasons. For one, since English is not the first language they rely on Spanish in many contexts. For the other, Spanish is a conflict language, a way of indicating their disdain for a society that they reject, as they believe it has rejected them.

This second question leads readily to a third that refers to dialects rather than languages. In many ways, dialectical differences are less easily dealt with than lingual differences. Non-standard dialects are more often clear signs of socio-economic differences; fewer people grant them authenticity as languages. With desegregation of schools, however, they have become a fact to be dealt with. Early students (e.g., Bernstein, 1964) stressed, however sympathetically, the limiting influence of what they saw as restricted dialects on cognition. Language deprivation = cognitive deprivation. His critics (e.g., Labov, 1972) believe that he missed the richness of non-standard dialects, with their own syntax, grammar, and vocabulary. These critics sometimes failed to note that dialects adapted to restricted settings may not be good media if one wants to move freely in wider circles. Nor did they note that to some degree these were anti-languages, in Halliday's sense, designed to oppose the larger society while communicating with one's group. The kinds of quasi-experiments with black ghetto English carried on in Ann Arbor schools need to be extended and enriched by both survey and ethnographic studies if dialectical differences are not to continue to intrude seriously into the desegregation process.

Federal judge Charles Joiner ruled that the Ann Arbor school board had violated the civil rights of eleven black students by not recognizing their different manner of speech as a fact to be dealt with in teaching, not a criterion for judging the quality of students. Responses to his decision varied widely. Carl Rowan believed that the ruling was "dubious at best," an invitation to an alibi, until we "...do something about the absences from school, until we make more black parents understand the value of reading in the home, until more teachers force ghetto students to read newspapers and magazines and at least try to resist peer-pressures to downgrade standard English" (quoted by Newell, 1981: 27). William Raspberry saw it differently. He read the decision to say, "What we are talking about is teaching children to read without turning them off, without teachers deciding on the basis of their speech patterns that they cannot learn" (quoted in Newell, 1981: 29).

The latter interpretation seems to be closer to Judge Joiner's intent. He sought to remove a barrier to learning, an often unconscious negative attitude of teachers toward the home language of some of their black students. They need to recognize the existence of that language "...and to use that knowledge," he wrote, "as a way of helping the children to learn to read standard English" (quoted in Newell, 1981: 28).

Rowan's fears may be justified, or Judge Joiner's hopes may prove to be well-founded. What we need to know is the range of outcomes of various policies toward dialects, particularly those closely correlated with minority backgrounds and deprivation, under a variety of conditions. We greatly need research that shows the conditions under which differences of language and dialect stand as barriers to the internal desegregation of schools and the kinds of school policy that can overcome those barriers. It seems possible to deal with language differences in such a way that they even become, in the process of reduction, integrative.

EFFECTS OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Of the numerous effects or possible effects of desegregation, four have been given most attention, in this volume and elsewhere: effects on the self-esteem of students from minority groups, on achievement, on the extent and friendliness of new contacts, and on the racial and ethnic make-up of the communities involved. I will comment briefly on each one.

SOURCES AND EFFECTS OF LEVELS OF SELF-ESTEEM

Rosenberg's rich study of the theories and methods that have been applied to the sources of self-esteem raises a number of important issues (see also Rosenberg, 1979; Rosenberg and Simmons, 1972). Although early studies of black self-esteem referred more to prejudice and discrimination than to the degree of segregation, they seemed to confirm what was held to be a fairly self-evident fact: the burdens of minority status and its personal consequences lowered self-esteem. Methodological weaknesses, however, raised doubts. The samples used in the doll studies, for example, were small and non-random; seldom was there a white comparison group; the children were required to select from few options; self-esteem was not clearly distinguished from group-esteem.

By the late 1960s, self-esteem was being measured by survey methods based on probability samples of both blacks and whites. Respondents came from a broader age range. And self-esteem, not group-esteem, was clearly the focus of attention. The results of the numerous studies by Rosenberg and those he has discussed sharply challenge and to a large degree contradict the earlier studies. Black self-esteem is not lower and is sometimes higher than white self-esteem. When the question of segregation is introduced as a variable, it has usually proved to increase, not decrease, black self-esteem. (See, e.g., Taylor and Walsh, 1979; Katz, 1976, chap. 4; Goering, 1972; Heiss and Owens, 1972; McCarthy and Yancey, 1971a; Drury, 1980. For general reviews and commentaries and some confirmation of earlier findings, see Porter and Washington, 1979; Adam, 1978; Williams and Morland, 1976; Porter, 1971; Asher and Allen, 1969.)

What is the significance of this body of literature and of Rosenberg's interpretation for school desegregation research? Although recent survey methods have many advantages, we must be aware that the verbal behavior they measure may not correspond with other behaviors that express levels of self-esteem. We must ask to what degree it may have been a shift of generations, rather than a shift of methods, that produced such a sharp reversal in the findings. Many events, typified by the direct training of the Rev. Jesse Jackson, taught black children in the 1970s to say, "I am somebody." It is also essential, in any comparisons, that we take account of age and sex distributions, socio-economic status, region, race of the testers, and effects of the measuring instrument.

The most significant part of Rosenberg's chapter, in my judgment, both for its insights and for its problems, is the emphasis on the phenomenological or verstehen approach; to understand the roots of self-esteem, we must see the world from the child's point of view. (I will resist the temptation to discuss his reference to Weber's Protestant Ethic. That was the first (1904) and methodologically weakest of Weber's comparative studies of religion.) Rosenberg explicitly rejects any tendency to define this as the only point of view of significance for behavior. We ought perhaps to emphasize, however, that for some scholars, the subjective world is the only real world, thus reversing Marx, who tended to dismiss the subjective world as "false consciousness" unless it corresponded to his picture of objective reality. In my view we are wise to emphasize the interactions between the inner and outer worlds.

Looking out at the world from the child's perspective, we must ask, Rosenberg notes, how much does a child care about a given appraisal, and how much confidence does he place in it? In segregated settings, Rosenberg believes, reflected appraisals and social comparisons are more positive than in desegregated settings. Attribution of blame to oneself is deflected by "system-blame," made easier by knowledge of discrimination. At least one can infer this tendency from studies that show that blacks score higher on measures of perception of the external locus of control. Taylor and Walsh (1979), however, found system-blame to be correlated with low self-esteem, not a way of avoiding it.

Further research along the lines suggested by Rosenberg's analysis is needed to examine a number of issues. Segregation doesn't mean lack of contact. It is often associated with menial, degrading contact. Symbolic contact through the mass media may be extensive. Adults significant in the child's life may have contact with the dominant group that affects the signals they send. We need to find ways to measure the extent to which verbal self-esteem corresponds with deeper feelings and with behavior.

We need further study of the conditions under which children in segregated settings are more likely to be exposed to sources of race pride. This seems more likely to be true of younger than older children. What happens when they have contact with the larger world only to discover that their heroes have been drawn from a narrow circle? Is the selection of heroes in a segregated community likely even to reinforce the system of discrimination? Arthur Ashe, Harry Edwards, and other blacks are saying; Don't be seduced by the glamor of athletics and the entertainment world; only a few make it in that world; we need a wider variety of accomplishments. We need also to ask: What happens to white students who are likely to be blocked by segregation from the opportunity to learn of the full range of black achievements?

In their chapters, Rosenberg and Granovetter (see also Hunt, 1977) note the positive effects of desegregated schools: higher academic achievement, the opening of more post-school opportunities, more stable families, less crime. If lower self-esteem, as presently measured, is a negative outcome, we need to ask whether there are ways to reduce this deflationary effect. Perhaps it is produced, not by desegregation per se, but by some of the processes--labeling, tracking, internal resegregation, and the like--that are sometimes the accompaniment of desegregation. Knowledge that self-esteem can be lowered under some conditions is a new variable that can lead to counseling, discussion, and other activities that can prevent it from happening.

A similar experience affects some white students who attend academically selective colleges. Ninety percent of them are likely to have been in the top ten or twenty percent of their high school classes; but two-thirds of them are in the bottom two-thirds of their college classes. This "desegregation" is a shocking experience for some and a blow to their self-esteem. Yet most of them stay, they find new grounds for self-esteem, they borrow from the prestige of the college, they employ a larger comparison group, and most of them believe they have made the right choice. If this analogy is of any value it may lead us to be alert to the long-run as well as the short-run effects of desegregation on self-esteem.

In his discussion of "discrepant contextual perspectives," Rosenberg makes the important observation from his Baltimore study that black children are less likely than white children to know others who are either poorer or richer than they. Blacks are more likely to say they are proud of their family's position and to think their parents have done well. In this discussion there is some tendency, however, to slip over into what one might call "radical phenomenology." "If a black child attends a black school day after day, week after week, year after year," Rosenberg observes, this is his world "as experienced." Would it not be better to say that the child thinks it is his world of experience--a thought that can distort his view of the actual array of forces governing his life? That he is not aware of them doesn't mean that those forces are not part of his world of experience.

There is a fascinating parallel between the shifts in self-esteem studies so well reviewed by Rosenberg and two other significant areas of research in racial and cultural relations--slavery and language use. I can only hint at that parallel here. Discrimination and inequality, said Clark and Clark and many other researchers in the 1940s and 1950s, had a crushing impact on self-esteem. Slavery, said Elkins and in a somewhat different way Stampp, had a crushing impact on personality development, leading to a childlike "Sambo." Isolation and deprivation, said Bernstein, created restrictive language codes. All of these scholars described in sympathetic--but also mournful--tones the destructive power of segregation and discrimination.

All three positions have now been challenged, the parallel changes suggesting a new moral and political climate as well as continuing research. Interpretations are now more "up-beat," emphasizing the creativity and powers of resistance among the disadvantaged. Taking a child's eye view, Rosenberg and a host of other researchers now say, we see that a segregated environment contains numerous resources and processes that enhance self-esteem. Slavery created a harsh and demanding context within which self-enhancing community and subcultural supports were created by the slaves, say Genovese, Fogel and Engerman, and especially Gutman. Labov and many other contemporary linguists declare that Bernstein missed the "expressive richness and syntactic complexity of the nonstandard dialects," as Jules-Rosette and Mehan put it.

How can we account for these shifts in emphasis on the effects of segregation and discrimination? Are they the result of new and better evidence? Of new paradigms that produce different questions and perceptions? Of shifting ideologies that demand that we express not only opposition to discrimination and sympathy for the unjustly treated, but also appreciation of their creative powers?

In my judgment we know a lot more now than we did twenty-five years ago with respect to those questions. The speed with which the received wisdom shifted, however, gives me pause and causes me to wonder what tomorrow's scholars will think of today's knowledge. It is imperative if we are to advance the art of inquiry that we be aware of these rapid changes--in some cases nearly reversals--in our explanations. That awareness may lead us, in terms of the immediate topic, to more powerful explanations of self-esteem and of the effects of desegregation on it. We may find that the swing of the pendulum was caused not simply by better research designs and evidence. New problems are being addressed, new questions asked. When changes of interpretation occur we are less likely, looking at them in this way, to say that "discrediting this tradition is, we believe, necessary" (McCarthy and Yancey, 1971b: 591). The task is to build on the tradition. We can also share Adam's concern that the newer studies of self-esteem may deflect attention from study of the negative impact of discrimination without, however, assuming that such deflection is inevitable or that the evidence and argument of those studies should simply be set aside. He argues that "self-esteem has become a psychological abstraction which allows the effects of a racist social structure simply to fade away...The fundamental problem raised by the early writers, of the production and reproduction of social order, has been sidestepped and ultimately obscured by the redefinition of the self-esteem concept over time" (Adam, 1978: 49, 51). Certainly Rosenberg and the others who have found evidence of positive self-esteem even in the face of discrimination would disagree with Adam's statement. To find that individuals have ways of coping with prejudice and discrimination is scarcely to deny their negative impact.

The value of the enormous body of research on self-concept and self-esteem for improving studies of school desegregation will be sharply reduced unless we can avoid these swings of the pendulum. Pettigrew has wisely suggested a framework within which the diverse, but not necessarily contradictory findings, can be drawn together. "(1) Oppression and subjugation do in fact have 'negative' personal consequences for minority individuals that are mediated by behavioral responses shaped through coping with oppression. (2) There are also some 'positive' personal consequences for minority individuals as well as negative personal consequences for majority individuals. (3) Many of the 'negative' consequences for minority group members are reflected in personality traits that in a range of situations can act to maintain, rather than challenge, the repressive social system. (4) Not all minority group members will be so affected nor are most traits of most minority members so shaped, since a sharp disjunction between the 'real,' personal self and the racial self is generally possible. (5) Thus, proud, strong minorities are possible despite 'marks of oppression.' And this strength becomes increasingly evident as the minority itself effectively challenges the repressive societal system" (Pettigrew, 1978: 60).

DESEGREGATION AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

Findings regarding the effects of the desegregation of schools on academic achievement vary widely. Although to Weinberg (1975) the preponderance of the evidence indicates beneficial results, Bradley and Bradley (1977) see little gain. An important research task is to try to discover whether the differences in the findings reflect better and poorer methods of research or whether they indicate study of different sets of facts and different conditions, or, most likely, both of these things.

Since this topic is discussed in nearly every chapter, I will simply list some of the variables that are deemed important in this volume and elsewhere, limiting comment to a few of them. The list is quite long and could be made longer, for we are dealing with a complex situation. By facing the complexity we may reduce the tendency to retreat into oversimplifications. (We should note also that many of these variables affect not only academic achievement but the probability that a school will remain multi-racial.)

1. The effects of various ratios of different races, ethnic groups, and classes (Granovetter, Blalock, Rose). On one hand, the "solo" literature (e.g., Kanter, 1977; Taylor, 1981), indicates that a group with small representation is likely to be isolated and stereo-

typed. We do not know the ratios or absolute numbers required before these effects are reduced, although twenty or thirty percent is sometimes suggested (Epps, 1975; Willie, 1976). This proportion, however, begins to lead to the opposite problem--reactions stemming from the feeling that "the other" group is too large. Recent public opinion polls indicate that three-quarters of white parents say they would not object to having their children attend schools in which half of the pupils were black, but there is some evidence that withdrawals increase when the ratio reaches 30 percent. This may be because schools with such ratios suffer various disadvantages--poor financial support, location, a class mix deemed undesirable by the parents--and not because of the majority-minority ratio itself. Or it may be that the one-quarter of parents who say they would object to sending their children to schools in which half of the pupils were black begin to withdraw them when the ratio reaches 30 percent, creating a higher ratio for those remaining, and thus stimulating additional withdrawals--the Schelling effect.

2. Influence of age at which children enter desegregated schools.

3. Strength of an academic emphasis in the national school culture (Suttles). If it is weak, students are more likely to sort themselves into partially conflicting "subcultures," with boundaries that correspond quite closely with racial and ethnic boundaries (Harrington, 1975).

4. Preschool preparation. The evidence is not yet decisive, but it now seems likely, contrary to earlier judgments, that children who enter school with some preschool educational experience are, indeed, off to a "head start." Insofar as such experiences are less available to students from minority backgrounds, their academic achievements will be comparatively weaker.

5. School control methods: discipline vs. "institutionalization of ignorance" (Blalock; Metz, 1978; Grant, 1981). Either a clear pattern of authority and discipline or a more open, "progressive" style can work among students trained to matching expectations. A mixture, however, as Blalock suggests, weakens both. One wonders how much this might be modified if a teacher laid his or her cards on the table, talked about the dilemma, and self-consciously sought to create a blend. There is evidence that firm discipline accompanied by respect, love, and parental involvement significantly increases the level of academic achievement (Henry, 1980; Grant, 1981).

6. Sorting processes, by tracking, counseling, labeling (Jules-Rosette and Mehan, Granovetter). There is now substantial evidence not only of official and planned tracking of pupils but also of unplanned and unintended steering and labeling. The effects are often to reinforce differences in academic achievement and to increase segregation (Alexander, Cook, and McDill, 1978; Rist, 1970; Erickson, 1975; Rosenbaum, 1976; McDermott, 1977).

7. Degree of teacher and staff desegregation and special training on problems likely to be faced in desegregated schools. Such training, which is not widely used, interacts with the values and attitudes that teachers and administrators being into the school situation (Lacy and Middleton, 1981; Summers and Wolfe, 1977). It is often emphasized that teachers are role models. They may not be in desegregated schools--indeed, may seem to be opponents--if they are not encouraged and helped to see the nature of the new teaching situation.

8. Goals of those who are dominant in society--the post-school opportunities they furnish, or deny, members of various groups (Ogbu).

9. Presence or absence of generational continuity in attitudes and values (Suttles). With calculated exaggeration, Margaret Mead once remarked that for the first time in history, people no longer have (cultural) ancestors, just as they have no descendants. There is wide variation in the degree to which this is true, variation that is reflected in differences of academic achievement.

10. Cultural "fairness" in the curriculum and throughout the school. Few would disagree that cultural fairness is not adequately served by holding an Ethnic Fair or celebrating "X week." But there is much less agreement on what it does entail in nonacademic as well as academic programs. We also need more research on the consequences of emphasis on cultural fairness on the pluralism-universalism dilemma. Under what conditions do programs based on the value of cultural fairness accentuate boundaries and reinforce sorting processes that work in the opposite direction from those intended?

This partial list of the variables that affect academic achievement in desegregated schools perhaps suggests the complexity of the research task (see also Pettigrew, 1975: 234-34). If we also recognize the various meanings attached to the term "academic achievement," the reasons for controversy are even more apparent. At least three distinctions need to be drawn.

First, does "academic achievement" mean attained level or extent of improvement over the entering level? Both measures are important, but in my judgment the extent of improvement (or loss) is the more significant.

Second, does it mean acquisition of certain skills or, in addition to that, a set of values favorable to intellectual growth generally? In a society in which rapid changes of occupational and other patterns demand flexibility, the learning of specific skills must be complemented by attitudes favorable to continuing education and retraining. Studies of desegregation have taught us little about its effects on such attitudes. Our measures of attainment are designed almost entirely to show levels of information and skill. In my judgment the acquisition of attitudes and values favorable to continuing development is equally important. Those attitudes and values can be part of the culture of a school. Is that culture promoted by desegregation? Does desegregation bring some students into schools, from which they formerly were excluded, within which that culture is strong?

Third, is the sheer fact of remaining in school and getting a diploma or degree the main achievement, or is level of competence the chief measure? Considering how poorly academic record predicts later success, except in a few occupations, and yet how much can be predicted by knowledge that a person has a diploma or degree, without knowledge of class rank, we need much more study of the effect of completing a course of study in segregated compared with desegregated schools.

DESEGREGATION AND CONTACT

Another topic of great interest and importance is the effect of desegregation on interracial and interethnic contact, and then the effect of various levels of contact on academic achievement, job placement, and other actions and tendencies--of teachers as well as students (Robinson and Preston, 1976). Many of the variables affecting academic achievement also affect the extent and varieties of contact. Ratios, age, and sorting processes ought particularly to be noted in this regard.

In studying contact, we need to be aware of the barriers and gateways brought into the school as well as the opportunities for contact furnished or blocked by the school. As Blalock well emphasizes, we are greatly in need of analysis of the intrinsic costs and rewards of contact (those applying to persons experiencing the contact) and of the extrinsic costs and rewards (coming from persons not directly in the contact situation), under various sets of conditions. It should not require emphasis, but seems often to be forgotten, that if contact seems to some participants mainly to entail costs, with little perceived opportunity for gains--judged against their past experience and the interpretations of their groups--contact will be resisted or used as an opportunity to try to improve their competitive situation.

Granovetter's work is filled with valuable concepts and research leads on this topic. The range of contacts is scarcely measured by sociometric tests that, for example, identify only dyadic ties with three best friends in a fixed choice procedure. "Weak ties" are important not only in themselves, but also because they link persons who move in different circles, thus furnishing direct and indirect group contacts.

Neglect of study of weak ties should not be overcome by failing to study strong ties. Granovetter suggests that emphasis on the latter is associated with an assimilationist model. He observes that blacks with strong ties to whites may so weaken their ties to other blacks that networks are not enlarged. I wonder if weak ties are not of significance precisely because there are some strong ties, and that without the latter, weak ties are experienced as tokens. Whether or not this guess is true, much more extensive research is needed on the full range of contacts and the conditions under which they occur. In a recent manuscript, Granovetter (1982) has noted that, although weak ties "provide access to information and resources beyond those available" to one's closest associates, those with whom one has strong ties are more strongly motivated to help and more readily available. What needs study, I believe, are the results of various combinations of weak and strong ties. Under what conditions is a strong racial or ethnic organization in a high school, for example, a separating barrier that prevents weak ties with others? (One thinks here of Wiley's (1967) concept of the "ethnic mobility trap.") And under what conditions is such an organization a source of self-confidence and of leadership able to promote the cultivation of weak ties?

Without imaginative teaching methods, classroom contact among persons of widely different levels of preparation can reinforce stereotypes. Large amounts of cooperative team learning and small amounts of tracking (e.g., no student put into a "homogeneous" classroom for more than one subject) can help to prevent that reinforcement. Unhappily, school policies more often reflect the opposite choice (Schofield, 1979). As we have noted, various sorting procedures can effectively segregate racial and ethnic groups within the walls of a "desegregated" school.

Outside the classroom, extra-curricular activities, playgrounds (Silverman and Shaw, 1973), and summer programs (Heyns, 1978; Yinger et al., 1977) affect, or have the possibility of affecting, interracial and interethnic contact. Suttles and Granovetter suggest the need for much more intensive study of ethnic subcultures, both within and outside of schools. In the early 1960s, studies by Clark (1962) and Coleman (1961) were valuable maps of the internal "thematic" structure in schools. Students differ significantly in the strength of their attachments to "academic," "fun," or "delinquent" subcultures. We need now to know more about the way in which these thematic subcultures interact with or cut across ethnic subcultures, not only because they influence the amount and kinds of contact, but also because they affect levels of achievement (Harrington, 1975). Where thematic subcultures are not allowed to become dominant, Suttles observes, students do not "'burn their bridges' to school before they attempt to enter the job market."

COMMUNITY EFFECTS OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

No topic has received more intensive public as well as research attention than the effect of school desegregation, particularly if brought about by court order, on the communities involved. The adversarial nature of research discussed by Rose is apparent on this topic because housing, jobs, and politics are deeply involved, as well as education. For a decade we have been faced with the awkward situation, as Karl Taeuber put it, that "for each and every Ph.D. there is an equal and opposite Ph.D." Advancing the art of inquiry will not necessarily reduce the adversarial nature of research on this issue, not only because there are different premises and values, but also because the research task is extremely complicated. As Cook observes, different segments of a population are already moving, and at different speeds and at different rates of acceleration or deceleration, before school desegregation has begun. This situation can have effects that "masquerade as effects of desegregation."

Among the chapters, those by Rose, Cook, and Granovetter deal most directly with the interactions between community and school segregation. We are confronted with the puzzling fact that public attitudes have become steadily more liberal regarding integrated housing and schools at the same time resistance to particular plans and policies has often been severe. The tendencies engaged when one is asked how he or she would respond to a given level of integration are often different from those activated when a specific plan is being discussed or carried out.

One can desegregate schools either by changing the racial and ethnic household mix in communities or by changing the mix of children in schools, or by a combination of the two. The two processes, in fact, are inevitably linked. Less attention has been paid to the prior integration of communities, however, except perhaps by urban economists. Far more than "white flight" is producing quasi-segregated communities along with the suburbanization of most of the white middle-class. Clotfelter (1979: 366) cites three major factors: "relatively innocent market forces, including rising incomes and changes in production and transportation technology; public policies providing subsidies to transportation and middle-income housing; and outright discrimination against blacks, causing them to be concentrated in central cities and under-represented in suburbs relative to their economic status." These and other factors operate in an environment where the Schelling tipping process can readily be set in motion because there are some with strong opposition to integration and others who are opposed if the minority exceeds some critical proportion--30 percent being a figure often given. The result can be more extreme segregation than almost anyone wants.

If I can suggest a metaphorical parallel to McGill's "desegregation began with the boll weevil," I would say that the segregation of metropolitan areas "began" when home buyers were allowed to deduct interest payments from taxable income and when a combination of auto, steel, rubber, oil, and cement interests, linking to America's love affair with the automobile and assisted by public subsidy, ringed our cities with highways. Of course households have always sorted themselves by income. Government-induced suburbanization, however, facilitated the growth of separate--and segregated--school districts.

Obviously one would sound no more sane in suggesting that the way to decrease integration is drastically to change these factors in the ecology of America's metropolitan communities than if one recommended a full-scale attack on the boll weevil as the wisest course. There are actions, however, that can be taken, and some have been taken, to counter the process of metropolitan segregation. Insofar as they are successful, school desegregation will be one of the results.

Open housing laws by themselves are useful but incomplete, because they run into housebuyers' prejudices (and the "Schelling effect"), sellers' prejudices (not unaccompanied by their economic interests), sales conditions with monopolistic elements, and wide income differences between whites and blacks--conditions that furnish incentives to brokers to discriminate. "Only a theory that involves discrimination can explain why blacks are concentrated in a central ghetto, why blacks pay more for comparable housing than whites in the same submarkets, why prices of equivalent housing are higher in the ghetto than in the white interior, and why blacks consume less housing and are much less likely to be home owners than whites with the same characteristics" (J. Yinger, 1979: 459).

New and imaginative action is required to break up this pattern. In addition to strengthening open housing laws, desegregation bonuses could be awarded to communities and individuals. The profit from segregation could be reduced by an increased flow of information in the housing market. Present multiple listing services are incomplete, often excluding minority brokers or limiting their access (J. Yinger, 1979).

Changes in these structural factors will retard the resegregation of our communities and thus of our schools. Those changes are likely to be slow, however, so that the problem needs to be approached from the other end as well--direct efforts to desegregate schools. Under many circumstances this helps to desegregate communities, setting a beneficent cycle in motion, as illustrated by the declining need for busing in Riverside, California (Civil Rights Update, December, 1980; see also Taeuber, 1979; Rossell, 1978; Finger, 1976; Loewen, 1979). What do we know about efforts to desegregate schools through direct action, about both their intended and their unintended effects? We are concerned here only with their effects on communities, particularly with the effects of integrating schools on the desegregating the communities involved or their further segregation. Much of the vast literature on this topic (see, e.g., Coleman et al., 1975; Pettigrew and Green, 1976; Farley, 1976; Sly and Pol, 1978; Wilson, 1979) is discussed in various chapters of this volume. Although disagreements are numerous in that literature, at a minimum one can say that school desegregation brought about by individual household mobility, e.g., the suburbanization of black families (Long and DeAre, 1981), or occurring in relatively small school districts, e.g., Little Rock (see The New York Times, Sept. 13, 1981: 15), or in school districts where minority enrollment is not more than one-third of the total, is likely to contribute to, rather than reverse, community desegregation. This may occur only after a year or two of influence in the opposite direction (Farley et al., 1980).

On the other hand, where changes are piecemeal, where school desegregation occurs only on the borders of ghetto areas, and where administrative policy is vacillating, school desegregation is likely to be associated with resegregation of the communities involved. This is not to say that school desegregation caused resegregation in the form of "white flight." It may simply be that the items mentioned are correlated with the diminishing appeal of the largest central cities, that diminishing appeal being the cause of suburbanization for any family with such an option, as Orfield put it (1978).

I have come to the conclusion that to continue to try to determine the proportion of the resegregation of city schools and of the cities themselves due to "white flight" from desegregation, particularly when produced by busing, is a nearly useless exercise. (I cannot resist adding, however, that in my judgment, major long-run structural changes in our metropolitan areas and the economy are the root causes. Where those causes are operating most strongly, in Detroit, for example, school desegregation can have a multiplier effect.) However that may be, we do know that resegregation has occurred in many cities. If school desegregation is desirable, even mandatory, as I believe it is, then we need to ask: How can the causes of that resegregation be dealt with? The problem must be approached from both ends: desegregating communities in order to desegregate schools, and desegregating schools in order to desegregate communities. That is a controversial statement. Some will say, there is no legal or judicial mandate to desegregate communities. That is the position taken by the Supreme Court in Milliken v. Bradley (1974). If schools can be desegregated only by maintaining or bringing about integrated communities, however, and if school integration is mandated, then the 1974 Supreme Court decision in the Detroit case cannot stand. That is the position taken by Justice Douglas in joining the minority of four on the Court. "When we rule against the metropolitan area remedy we take a step that will likely put the problems of blacks and our society back to the period that antedated the 'separate but equal' regime of Plessy v. Ferguson" (418 U.S. 759, 1974; see also Orfield, 1978; Henderson and von Euler, 1979).

We need to know much more about the legal, attitudinal, and structural (often impersonal) forces standing in the way of metropolitan-area remedies, starting both from the school and the community end. In my view, no research related to the study of school desegregation can be of greater importance.

CONCLUSION

Several points that have not been given much direct attention in this series of papers ought perhaps to be noted.

Our questions, research strategies, and judgments would be influenced, I think for the better, if we recognized explicitly that we are dealing with a two- or three-generational problem. (I take this to be a sound empirical judgment, albeit not easily documented, and in no sense the expression of a desire or a counsel to go slow. There is some risk of a self-fulfilling prophecy being bound up in the statement, so I hope that some, at least, do not share the judgment.) Insofar as it is true, assessment of the impact of desegregation should refer to trend lines, not to goals obtained in a year or two. Research can be based on the study of settings where change is rapid and extensive compared with settings where it is slow, accompanied by study of the degree to which these various settings are becoming more common.

We need to be as alert as possible to unintended effects (or what Cook calls impacts), not only the one most commonly studied--resegregation--but those that may occur in particular communities, schools, and individuals. Does desegregation increase parental involvement? Does it stimulate greater awareness of the growing language issue in the United States? Does it have spillover effects on other aspects of community life, e.g., home prices, school taxes? Does it lead, among some, to a loss of the sense of "my school," with accompanying alienation, when one's ethnic group can no longer be seen as the only or main group? And how do these unintended effects feed back into the desegregation process, strengthening or deflecting it?

Research on the effects of media attention and interpretation, both before and after school desegregation, is in short supply. It is a truism that conflict gets the best press. Reports of events then feed back into the ongoing reality of events, partly shaping them.

To what degree do the changes that school desegregation brings about involve not only gains for all, but some transfer of advantages, i.e., zero-sum gains? There is little doubt that many of the opponents of desegregation believe that what others might gain, they and those with whom they identify are likely to lose. In examining the issues of equity and dominance discussed by Rose, we need to study the possibility, indeed the probability in my judgment, that educational and occupational opportunities are to some degree zero-sum. "Society as a whole" is likely to benefit, but some individuals pay a price. And--to show the toughness of the stratification system--it is mainly the least well-off of the dominant group who pay the price and the best-off of the subordinate groups who profit from the changes. Until we learn how to spread the cost of dominance-reduction to include the best-off of the dominant group and spread the gains to include the least well-off of the subordinate groups, we will have satisfied only poorly the requirements of justice, as I understand them. The research question, purified from these politico-moral judgments, is: Which forms of school desegregation are or could be progressive (in an income-tax sense), which ones proportional, which ones regressive?

There is now substantial evidence that academic competence and even intelligence, as measured by standard tests, are strongly influenced by activities--or the lack of activities--during the summer months (Heyns, 1978). Since differences in academic competence are among the factors influencing attitudes toward, and the success of, desegregation, we need more intensive study of the differences among children in the nature of their summer experiences. We need more study of the kinds of summer experiences that link strongly to the programs of the academic year. Without such linkage, without follow-through, the effects of summer enrichment are likely to fade quite rapidly. In Middle Start, my colleagues and I found that there were three ingredients to a successful summer program: a decisive new, stretching and stereotype-breaking experience; a sponsor to show that new possibilities were available and to explain each step, because each step was into "foreign" territory; and a circle of "supporting others," complementing the instrumental guidance of the sponsor with emotional support. Whether or not these ingredients are essential in all instances, we can be sure, I think, that wide differences in the way summers are spent compound other difficulties faced in the process of desegregation.

The art of desegregation research will be further enhanced by more extensive comparative study. We can learn from, and contribute to, the understanding of school situations, perhaps especially in Europe and Canada, but also in Latin America, Japan, Malaysia, New Zealand, Australia, and elsewhere.

Finally, we need to keep continuously in mind the several levels, from the most macro to the most micro, and their interdependence if we are to advance our understanding of the complicated process of desegregation. It might be useful to note these levels.

Level of analysis	Variables to consider
Society as a whole	Demography Major technical and economic changes Housing policies
Relationships among school districts	All of the above, plus Laws bearing on desegregation Court decisions Media attention

Level of analysis	Variables to consider
Relationships within school districts	All of the above, plus School board policies with regard, e.g., to school locations, busing, teacher selection and training Ratios of different groups Sorting processes
Relationships within a school	All of the above, plus Methods of discipline Peer groups, youth cultures Language variation Processes affecting weak ties Teaching methods Effects on self-esteem
Relationships within a classroom or other specific activity	All of the above, plus Age of the students Range of socio-economic status Criteria for participating in the activity
The individual	All of the above, plus Racial or ethnic group Socio-economic status Attitudes concerning desegregation Levels of competence Ambition, distinguishing plans (aspirations) from motivation (expenditure of effort)

We are dealing with a very complicated part of nature. The several levels of analysis and the illustrative variables listed here surely give us pause. Nothing is to be gained, however, from the belief that by studying one or two levels and a few variables we can advance the art of inquiry in school desegregation research.

FOOTNOTE

1. This may not be a common situation, however. Segregation often throws blacks of different classes together residentially.

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